



Daily Report

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Article Views, Criticizes Events in Poland

AU3108134889 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian
28 Aug 89 p 4

[Virgil Kule article: "Poland—Solidarity in Power"]

[Text] Within a few years, through a political "blitz," Solidarity emerged from illegality, became a political force imposing the government's approval, gained great authority in the June parliamentary elections, and last Thursday took over the government completely. The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] remained in a minority and complained that Solidarity and two other parties violated the rules of the game set out in the April agreement on political reforms.

That matters would go this far and beyond was foreseeable. The revisionist course itself is fraught with such consequences. The unchecked encouragement of the private sector, particularly in agriculture, the colossal debts toward the West, and the severe crisis of a so-called socialist ideology that was supported by no political, economic, and social action at all, made the collapse of the eroded "communist" facade inevitable. What is striking, however, is the rapid precipitation of events, which were influenced particularly by the signals coming from Moscow and the Gorbachevite perestroika and reforms. The antisocialist right-wing forces throughout Eastern Europe were revived and attained quick successes where the links in the chain were weaker. Economic problems had a particular influence in Poland's political life. The Jaruzelski government was unable to extinguish the fires that were smoldering beneath the ashes of the temporary truce achieved with the right-wing forces led by Solidarity. Moscow's signals also gave the green light to the West, and primarily to the United States, to encourage the demands for more "freedom and democracy" and more rapid reforms of a capitalist type. The economic crisis and Poland's debts were thus transformed into a trap which was being increasingly tightened around it, forcing the government in power to embark on the road of concessions...

...The appointment of one of Solidarity's major representatives, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, to lead the new Polish Government is a great defeat for the revisionists, who retreated before the pressure of the pro-Western forces. As was also stressed in the new prime minister's government program and in Lech Walesa's statements to the press, these forces want a completely capitalist-type Poland, closely tied to the West. The time of confrontation between Solidarity and the leadership of the PZPR on questions of "principles" is thus gone forever. The latter is now fighting only for some more government portfolios. If it is offered the posts of Ministry of Defense and Ministry of the Interior, this is not for the sake of "democratic options," but merely in order to preserve a balance with Moscow, which is still being treated diffidently by Solidarity and the West. In addition, again in order to reassure Moscow, Solidarity has repeated several times over that "the new government is not going to

make immediate improvements. Poland will continue to remain a member of the Warsaw Pact." Faced with a reality which has rapidly become an "accomplished fact" as a result of the precipitation of events and which, from the viewpoint of its essence, has practically become a concentrated reflection of the traits of the policy pursued by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union itself, Moscow is now compelled not only to remain satisfied with Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact, but even to make some conciliatory gesture in the face of this reality. A rather contradictory context, this, which is further illustrated by Mazowiecki's meeting with Kryuchkov, the chief of the Committee for State Security, at which the latter expressed his concern about the current situation in Poland.

However, these Moscow positions are creating difficulties for the PZPR, which has long since based its policy on the establishment of a balance between Soviet strategic interests and concessions to the West. A few days ago, in a 45-minute telephone conversation between Rakowski, the general secretary, and Gorbachev, the latter told him in essence to continue the "pluralist process," and this almost completely disoriented Rakowski. The other two parties, the Peasants Party and the Democratic Party, which will have a deputy prime minister each in the government, are also playing the Solidarity game. Solidarity itself refuses all discussions about portfolios until Mazowiecki proclaims his new government in parliament by the end of this month, while there can be no talk whatsoever as far as support from public opinion is concerned.

We thus have a typical example of the application of the strategy of debts by the international bourgeoisie to change the balance of forces in an East European state.

The PZPR will have to follow the rules of the game imposed by bourgeois democracy, a game for which it has neither the ability nor the political confidence. Shaken by consecutive failures resulting from the revisionist line that it has been pursuing for a long time, the party has lost the confidence of the people and of the party membership itself, whereas Solidarity is speaking the language of someone who has taken the destiny of the nation into its own hands (!) and declares itself openly in favor of a transition to capitalism. Regardless of the number of posts that it will give to the Communists in the government, Solidarity now has the initiative, which it is using unhesitatingly to strengthen its own positions. Its strength lies in the process of deepening its dependency on the West in order to accelerate the trend toward complete capitalist reformation. And the West is ready. At Solidarity's request, millions of dollars will be added to the \$39 billion of Poland's foreign debt, which is already a great burden on the weak and unbalanced economy of this country.

The economic and political defeat of the revisionists is thus pre-announced, not only for Poland, but also for the other countries that have embarked on the same road.

Western Stand on Poland, Hungary Viewed

AU3008183189 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in *Albanian* 26 Aug 89 p 4

[Prof Agim Popa article: "The Logical End of the Revisionist Course"]

[Text] The attention of the international public opinion has recently been directed at the events in Poland and Hungary. In Poland, the Polish United Workers Party suffered defeats in the parliamentary elections and, because General Kiszczak, this party's candidate for the post of prime minister, gave up this burden, President Jaruzelski charged Mazowiecki, the representative of Solidarity, with the task of forming a new government. Hungary is following substantially the same road as Poland, regardless of certain differences of traits and forms. Following Imre Nagy's clamorous rehabilitation, which also marked the official rehabilitation of the counterrevolution, events are precipitating rapidly in the direction of so-called "political pluralism," toward the formal transformation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party into a social democratic party, and ultimately, its departure from power in favor of other political forces.

These events are not unexpected. They are a logical conclusion of a mistaken line which opened up the way to the bourgeois counterrevolution. The revisionists are handing over power on a platter to the declared opponents of socialism, who are not at all concealing their aims. "We are preparing to move into the state of affairs that existed before the war, when Poland was a capitalist country," Lech Walesa declared recently. Regardless of the concrete turn that events will take in this or that country, regardless of whether this process will take place peacefully or will be marked by various perturbations, what is currently happening in Poland and Hungary is the common end of all revisionists in power, if they are not overthrown first by the working people themselves.

The anticommunist propaganda, which contains comments on these events, euphorically calls them a failure of communism and a triumph of bourgeois capitalism and "democracy." In fact, the events in Poland, Hungary, and other countries advancing on the same road mark the historic defeat not of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, but of revisionism. The Albanian Workers Party has made it quite clear, not only now, but ever since the events that followed the infamous 20th CPSU Congress, that the anti-Marxist course adopted by the modern revisionists could not fail to lead to the restoration of capitalism and that this capitalist course would result in crises, disillusionment, and severe failures. The whole world is now a witness to this.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists are trying to turn things upside down. They are furiously attacking socialism for all the disastrous consequences that the departure from the principles of socialism and the embarking on the road of capitalist restoration has brought to the formerly socialist countries. However, the

revisionists in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere have been in power for 35 years. Therefore, neither the socialist system nor Stalin can be blamed for the stagnation, the backwardness, the economic failures, the bureaucracy, and the limitations of democracy, nor for the interventions in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan.

Throughout the '70s and '80s, the Polish workers class forcefully expressed its disaffection and revolted against the revisionist regime. It rose in powerful strikes and demonstrations which led to Gomulka's overthrow, followed by Gierek's, in the same way that they have led in recent years to the defeat of Jaruzelski's course. However, the lack of a genuinely proletarian leadership made it possible for this movement to be manipulated by right-wing antisocialist forces and to be directed onto the road of the complete and open restoration of capitalism at the base and in the superstructure. What is currently happening in Poland is the last act of this drama.

Profiting from the grave crisis prevailing in the revisionist countries and from Gorbachev's course in the Soviet Union itself, the Western imperialist circles are openly stirring up the processes that are taking place in those countries. In addition to the policy of the carrot, the promise of credits and aid to those countries that are in the vanguard of this process, such as Poland and Hungary, the imperialist powers are adopting in an increasingly obvious manner the policy of the stick, that of brutal pressure and activities that undermine those Eastern countries that have reservations or are resisting the course of the liberalizing and capitalist reforms of a Gorbachevite, Polish, or Hungarian type, the course of uncontrolled progress on the road of capitalism. The indications are that this policy of pressure is not a temporary tactic, but a coordinated policy on the part of Western imperialism, primarily American imperialism, in the present circumstances.

As for the leading circles in the Soviet Union, they are adopting a restrained and tolerant attitude toward the current events in Poland and Hungary. This is due, primarily, to the fact that the events in Poland and Hungary are not at all contrary to Gorbachev's general line. On the contrary, his "perestroika" has given the green light to the antisocialist forces everywhere. The Soviet media have given a positive response to the processes taking place in those countries, while Walesa himself declared to the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI that "Soviet President Gorbachev's 'perestroika' has opened up the way for important changes in Poland." Soviet television itself broadcast recently without comment parts of an interview granted by Lech Walesa to the Italian newspaper IL MESSAGGERO, in which he stated that "What we are trying to do in Poland is to make the transition from socialism to capitalism." This position of the Soviet Union can also be explained by the fact that the events so far have not affected its strategic interests, have not directly and immediately put in question its sphere of influence. The West, just as those forces that have gained and are gaining superiority

in Poland and Hungary, has made it clear that at least for the time being, the problem of a possible withdrawal of Poland and Hungary from the Warsaw Pact will not arise. This would cause a disruption of the current balance of forces, as well as undesirable difficulties in East-West relations.

The international bourgeoisie and imperialism are singing hymns of victory and are strongly sounding the trumpets of Jericho about the supposed defeat of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Their intention is to thus disseminate a spirit of defeatism, disillusionment, and a lack of confidence in the cause of socialism, to obscure and close all prospects to the revolution and the just struggle of the peoples against capitalist slavery and the neocolonialist domination of imperialism.

However, they are celebrating too early. The last word has not been said yet. The assumption of power by the revisionists in the Soviet Union and some other formerly socialist countries, which started the regressive process of capitalist restoration and led to the profound crisis that has gripped these countries, is not at all an inevitability, as the anticommunist propaganda says it is. The danger of a peaceful, revisionist counterrevolution can be avoided by following a correct Marxist-Leninist policy and by drawing lessons from the past.

As a social system, socialism is undoubtedly confronting various problems and difficulties in its dialectical development. However, as Comrade Ramiz Alia stated at the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, "Socialism possesses all the possibilities within its own system to overcome the contradictions, conflicts, and difficulties arising in its development, responding to the dialectics of life. Socialism does not need to borrow reforms and instruments from the capitalist order which it has overthrown."

Romania's Achievements Viewed on National Day
AU2908143589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Shkelqim Beqari article: "The Romanian People Celebrate the 45th Anniversary of the Liberation"]

[Excerpts] The Romanian people are today celebrating the 45th anniversary of the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist revolution. Through a bitter struggle filled with sacrifices, giving the country 170,000 martyrs, the Romanian people chased out the Nazi beast and won their independence on 23 August 1943. Led by Stalin, the Red Army, which became an important factor in the defeat of the Nazi hordes, contributed to this victory. The overthrow of Antonescu's fascist dictatorship crowned the Romanian people's struggle for freedom, national independence, and social progress. Later on, too, the struggle was continued against the plans of the domestic and external enemies who sought to restore their lost paradise. In December 1947, the Assembly of deputies proclaimed Romania a People's Republic.

The country's reconstruction and the implementation of economic transformations were the immediate tasks confronting Romania's war-ravaged economy. The nationalization of the means of production, the agrarian reforms, and other reforms of a democratic nature were carried out in the first few years following the liberation. Conditions were thus created to transform the country from its backward state, in which a backward agriculture predominated, into an industrial-agrarian country with a modern industry, science, culture, and education. Achievements have been attained in numerous branches of the economy during the past 45 years. [passage omitted]

On this jubilee of Romania's National Day, the Albanian people rejoice at the achievements of the Romanian people in all fields of life. This is due to the traditional and ancient friendship between our two peoples. Their ties became particularly strong during a difficult period experienced by the Albanian people. Many prominent personalities of our Renaissance, such as Asdreni, Veqilharxhi, and others, found adequate conditions to work and carry out their activity in Romania, to organize patriotic associations, and to publish their organs. The contribution of these Renaissance personalities was also a contribution to Romanian culture, as is shown by their legacy. The relations between our two peoples have grown stronger. Cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit serves our two countries, as well as the consolidation of peace, cooperation, and security in the Balkan Peninsula. Economic and trade relations have progressed normally. Meetings and mutual visits at various levels, including those made by the Romanian deputy prime minister and the chairman of the Albanian State Planning Commission, the various activities carried out on the anniversary of the prominent Romanian poet, Eminescu, and so forth, serve to strengthen bilateral relations.

On this jubilee of the 45th anniversary of Romania's National Day, the Albanian people convey to the Romanian people best wishes for the development and prosperity of their country. On this occasion, the Albanian people are convinced that the traditional and friendly relations between our two countries will be constantly developed to their mutual benefit.

More Profound Literary Critique Called For
AU3108163989 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 27 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "For a More Militant, Scientific, and Emancipated Critique"]

[Excerpts] Our national culture did not inherit developed literary critique from the past, capable of confronting the complex questions of art and esthetics. Our traditional art itself did not have the degree of development that it currently enjoys. Some genres did not exist at all or were only in their infancy, such as serious music, painting, cinematography, the theater, and so forth.

Esthetic studies, the theory of literature and art, comparative and analytical studies of renowned personalities and of the major manifestations of our culture were almost completely lacking. The history of Albanian literature, the theory and esthetics of art, and scientific debate and thought were developed only during the past 45 years. [passage omitted]

Despite its achievements, our literary and artistic critique has still failed to place itself in the vanguard of the creative process in order to assist the efforts of our authors to create works of a high artistic level and to identify authentic artistic values and creative individuals, without leveling them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the Fifth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum on Culture that "The human genius has invented art in an effort to know itself and the world surrounding it, to know the present and, particularly, to know the future. This great philosophy, this great search is what keeps artistic creativity alive and helps its development. No art would exist without it." It is from such ideas concerning the development of literature and art that our critical thinking must be guided throughout its activity.

The fifth plenum opened up new vistas to our literary and artistic critique. The special plenum of the Union of Writers and Artists, which was held some months ago, helped to further promote this goal, to open up the way

to a militant, scientific, and emancipated critique, liberated from inadequacy and unhealthy friendships, from the tendency of placing personal sympathies over and above scientific analysis, from the petit bourgeois psychology of not wanting to give offense, from servility, the leveling of personalities, and so forth. [passage omitted] The problems of our literature and art are numerous and complex. Critique has remained behind developments and the tasks that it is supposed to resolve. Critique of the figurative arts, for example, leaves much to be desired. Theoretical mistakes are observed, which harm a creative atmosphere. Critique of musical art is frequently incidental and superficial. Important questions pertaining to the national character of our light music, the standard of interpretation, the musical life of the country as a whole, and so forth, are not properly thrashed out. [passage omitted]

Militant and scientific critique has a powerful influence on the emancipation of all literary and artistic life. This is what is needed at all times and not the opposite, for public opinion and art itself to raise the question of the emancipation of critique. It is necessary for authors themselves, the men of literature and the arts, to be more broad minded toward critique, to accept debate as a prerequisite for the development of culture and of their own talent. We say this, because an unhealthy sensitivity is frequently observed among some authors toward critique and publications, stifling debate in the bud. No, debate must be seething at all times, it must be developed further. [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Official on Turkish Issue

AU3108183689 Sofia BTA in English
1739 GMT 31 Aug 89

["Bulgaria Stands For Equitable Dialogue With Turkey"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Khaskovo, August 31 (BTA)—"Bulgaria's position is explicit—there are no grounds for the conclusion of an emigration agreement with the Republic of Turkey, because this question was removed from the agenda of the bilateral relations as early as 1982 after a mutual agreement between the two state leaders Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kenan Evren," said today a high-ranking official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria at a press conference in the city of Khaskovo (southern Bulgaria).

In the course of two hours the questions of the foreign and Bulgarian journalists were answered also by representatives of the Ministry of Justice, the Human Rights Committee, BDZ (Bulgarian Railways), the Customs Department and the Regional People's Council of Khaskovo.

"The new Bulgarian legislation, which is completely in the spirit of the Vienna document, permits the Bulgarian citizens freely to travel abroad and to return in their motherland. Bulgaria stands for open dialogue with Turkey on all really existing problems but without any preliminary conditions and attempts for dictate. With its policy the Turkish Government shows that it is against constructive participation in the Balkan events," pointed out the representatives of the Bulgarian diplomacy.

Another topic of the press conference was Turkey's decision to stop the service of the international Munich-Istanbul train on Turkish territory since August 25. In this way the Turkish side has broken its obligations to the international union of railways according to whose regulations the member-states should be informed at least six months in advance of a similar decision.

The journalists visited the Kapitan Andreevo Border Check Point. According to data of the international press center in the neighbouring city of Svilengrad, only today in the morning 180 Bulgarian citizen descendants of Islamized Bulgarians, who have visited Turkey, have returned. The total number of those who have returned till the present is 4,324, and the everyday inflow is about 300-360 people.

Some of those who have returned spoke of the outrages on the side of the Turkish authorities and of the obstacles created by them on their way to Bulgaria.

In connection with the allegations that in the regions of Blagoevgrad and Gotse Delchev (southwest Bulgaria) there have been clashes between the Pomak population and the security forces, the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs said: "About such 'events' we were informed by some Western mass media who quoted unnamed diplomatic sources in Sofia and Vienna. This

is not the first time that such insinuations have been made. In this case their real source is a 'neighbouring' one. They do not correspond to the truth and I invite all interested journalists to visit those regions so that they could convince themselves, at the very place, that these have been fabrications."

BCP Daily on Validity of Protocol With Turkey

AU3108130389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 30 Aug 89 p 5

[Stefan Mitev article: "Bulgaria Stands By Its Signature"]

[Excerpts] The Bulgarian-Turkish document, which became known as the Belgrade Protocol, was signed on 23 February 1988 in Belgrade. This was immediately before the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries which took place in the Yugoslav capital.

Against the background of the hostile course toward our country recently adopted by the Republic of Turkey, it is worthwhile to recall the basic agreements included in the document. The protocol first of all pointed out the "principles of equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in internal affairs," and voiced the two countries' willingness "to develop relations of good-neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation in a manner commensurate with the mutual interests." [passage omitted]

The protocol envisaged that the ministers of foreign affairs would "implement mutual visits," and "review the activity of the two working groups and give them the necessary instructions." Regular political consultations between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs were also agreed upon.

After preparations that lasted 2 months, the working groups held their initial meetings—the economic group in Ankara, and the political group in Sofia. An agenda was adopted that included a broad range of issues related to bilateral relations: economic cooperation in the areas of transportation, mining, metal processing, chemical industry, environment protection, and so forth. The political group was expected to discuss issues related to further expanding understanding and good-neighborly relations, humanitarian issues, struggle against smuggling and terrorism, border issues, cooperation in consular issues, and so forth.

The second meeting of the joint working groups took place in July 1988. This time the political group met in Ankara, while the economic met in Sofia. The Bulgarian side was thoroughly prepared. It presented for review well-balanced drafts of bilateral documents, such as a declaration on good-neighborly relations, friendship, and cooperation; a memorandum on confidence- and security-building measures; measures for cooperation in the humanitarian sphere; and cooperation in the mass

media sphere. Those drafts reflected the UN principles on relations between states and the Helsinki Final Act.

The Bulgarian side also proposed cooperation with a view to turning the Bulgarian-Turkish border, as a border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, into a zone of peace and confidence.

However, the approach of the Turkish side was different. It presented draft documents, that most crudely reflected Turkey's claims about the existence of some "Turkish minority" in Bulgaria, invented by Turkey, with the ultimate demand to become almost its protector. This was done despite the principles of the Belgrade protocol and despite the fact that Turkey knows very well that there is no bilateral or multilateral treaty that mentions the existence of such a minority in Bulgaria.

Against this background it was only natural not to achieve any results, despite the constructive efforts of the Bulgarian delegation to direct the talks toward an equal exchange of opinions and search for mutually acceptable solutions. The Bulgarian delegation made it clear that Bulgaria would not accept any joint document that alludes even to the slightest interference in its internal affairs, or harms the Bulgarian people.

Thus the practical application of the Belgrade Protocol was disrupted. Nevertheless, the document continues to be valid.

Soon, the relatively favorable atmosphere created during the meetings of the joint groups developed into a sharp anti-Bulgarian campaign on the part of Ankara, which has not stopped until today. The contacts between the two countries were strongly curbed. The envisaged visit of the Turkish foreign minister to Bulgaria in the fall of 1988 did not materialize.

Ankara prefers a one-sided interpretation of the Belgrade protocol. As they did not succeed to dictate their conditions and solutions, the Turkish leading circles now define the Belgrade protocol as an "erroneous step" on the part of Turkey. Regardless of how strange it is, the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, who himself signed the protocol together with his Bulgarian colleague, defines it now as a "stillborn" document. Thus he himself unmasks the impure intentions of the Turkish side from the very moment of signing the document. Therefore, the mechanism of reviewing the issues by the joint groups, created by the protocol, cannot be activated because of the Turkish attitude. [passage omitted]

The Bulgarian side will not give in to any threats. It stands by the Belgrade protocol, signed by it. Its policy of dialogue and direct and open negotiations related to resolving the existing and emerging problems between the two countries on the basis of mutual interest remains unchanged. This policy was confirmed by Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman: "As far as the real problems of our relations, both the inherited and new ones, are involved, we are ready to discuss them at all levels on the basis of the international realities, as indeed

we have done until now. We adhere to good-neighborly, human, and civilized relations."

The Bulgarian side expects that the sense of realism prevails in Ankara.

PZPR's Rakowski Gives News Conference

*AU3008185589 Sofia BTA in English
1803 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Varna, August 30 (BTA)— Mr Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee [CC] of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] today was interviewed for the BTA, the Bulgarian Television and the Bulgarian Radio.

He paid special attention to the decisions of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and particularly stressed the conclusion that at the present stage neither the PZPR, nor Solidarity alone are in a position to take the country out of the state it is, nor can they do it in opposition to each other. That is why the partnership between the two main forces in Poland is vital. We are still at a very early, initial stage of real interaction and the path to it will be neither easy nor short, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said. It is good that there are forces in the opposition who consider the partnership necessary.

No doubt, the Polish United Workers Party will take part in the formation of the future government. The representatives of the opposition stated that they cannot imagine a government without the participation of communists.

The first secretary of the CC of the PZPR dwelt in detail on the role of the party in the present situation, on its efforts to mobilize the communists for concrete action. The self-confidence of the party is not up to the criteria of the time we live in, he said. It will take a longer period of time to restructure the party and restore its efficiency.

Mr Rakowski believes that despite the difficulties Poland is experiencing and despite the complex processes taking place in society, there is no real danger of Poland's ceasing to be a socialist country in the future. But it should be known that there are people in the opposition who would like to discredit the gains of socialism and cast suspicion on what has been achieved. The Polish United Workers Party and its leadership must act in such a way as to prevent any lagging behind in the socialist development of the country.

Danchev Receives Syrian Industry Minister

*AU3108133589 Sofia BTA in English
1246 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[“Bulgaro-Syrian Cooperation”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 31 (BTA)—Mr. Petko Danchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr. Antoine Jubran, minister of industry of Syria.

It was agreed to set up a consortium with interested Bulgarian companies that will carry out joint activity in Syria in the chemical, the automobile industry (in motor-engine building in particular) and in the food industry. The cooperation in the production of consumer goods, cotton materials and in the textile industry is also of mutual interest.

In view of obtaining concrete results more rapidly, it was agreed to approve the respective intergovernmental documents guaranteeing joint investments in the two countries and the interests of the companies and banks involved the soonest possible. On this basis a considerable increase in trade is expected this and next year, too. Syria will supply mainly raw materials and feedstock to the Bulgarian industry for the cement and the textile industry and will receive in return projects and equipment for her food industry and agriculture.

It was decided to set up a joint engineering organization that will operate in the field of the food industry. Special attention was paid to ensuring the conditions for the further extension of cooperation in finance and banking and the further enhancement and enrichment of trade and industrial interaction between Bulgarian and Syrian companies and banks.

Officials Celebrate Libyan National Day

*AU3108190789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] A festive meeting was held in Sofia to mark the 20th anniversary of the 1 September Revolution in Libya. The ceremony was attended by Comrade Andrey Lukanov and by chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in our country.

Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, chairman of the Bulgarian-Arab Libyan Friendship Society in Bulgaria, spoke about the historical development of Libya and the democratic changes that have occurred in that country as a result of the revolution.

The structural changes in social and cultural life, and in the economic and agricultural spheres of Libya were

described. It was stressed that, with its resolute, anti-imperialist foreign policy, Libya contributes to the establishment of effective Arab unity.

(Omar Dallal), secretary of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, stressed in his speech that the friendly relations between our two peoples have proved their everlasting nature, and he expressed gratitude concerning the Bulgarian specialists who are contributing to the construction and development of present-day Libya.

Israel, South Africa Weapons Pact Noted

*AU3108195289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 20 Aug 89*

[Text] Israel and the Republic of South Africa have agreed to cooperate in the production of chemical weapons. As the Egyptian newspaper (AL-WAFD) reported, the signing of an agreement on the development of new types of poisonous substances took place in Pretoria.

According to previous data provided by the Arab and West German press, the Republic of South Africa and Israel have already not only produced nuclear warheads, but in violation of all existing international agreements on the subject, they are testing these warheads over the Atlantic Ocean.

International Atomic Energy Session Held

*AU3108133789 Sofia BTA in English
1310 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Sofia, August 31 (BTA)—On August 29-30 a session of the representatives of the International Agency on Atomic Energy (MAGATE) socialist member-countries was held in Sofia with the participation of delegations of the Belorussian SSR, Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, the PDR of Korea, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

A representative of the CMEA Secretariat also took part in the session as observer.

At the session that passed in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere the participants exchanged views on the problems of strengthening international cooperation in the safe and peaceful use of atomic energy in connection with the 33rd Regular Session of the MAGATE General Conference.

FRG 'Leniency' to Hijackers Criticized

LD0109082989 Prague CTK in English
0734 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sep 1 (CTK)—"When at the end of last March two young terrorists hijacked a Hungarian Malev airliner from Prague to Frankfurt am Main threatening with arms human lives and security of the flight, the FRG threw the principle of international cooperation in the struggle against air piracy overboard", the Czechoslovak daily RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

The West German Government did not meet the Czechoslovak request for their extradition. German authorities expressed extraordinary leniency towards the hijackers.

"Where does this benevolence come from?" the paper asked. "It definitely cannot be regarded as a deterrent, on the contrary—the hopes for benevolence and practical impunity have rather a stimulating effect. In any case, they are in contradiction with the aims proclaimed in the FRG to struggle effectively against terrorism and piracy. It is impossible to proclaim strict and deterrent sanctions on one hand and give an almost friendly welcome to terrorists on the other, the daily underlined.

RUDE PRAVO Supports CPSU on Baltics

LD2908100789 Prague CTK in English
0800 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)—RUDE PRAVO said today that the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Baltic republics is a serious statement made at a serious moment, an appeal for common sense, for citizens' responsibility and for keeping to the idea of internationalism.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party paper said the CPSU statement contains no threats, no pressure by force but a frank and honest analysis of the situation and its possible consequences. It clearly said that following the direction pursued by extremists would mean a catastrophe, RUDE PRAVO added.

Even realists in the West do not see in the realization of ideas to separate the Baltic republics from the USSR anything more than a harmful destructive intention that would dangerously destabilize internal development in the USSR and also the general international situation, the paper said.

Observers registered an opinion among U.S. diplomats in Moscow that the idea of separating the Baltic republics from the USSR is naive. Neither do Western businessmen want to arouse illusions among extremists in the Baltic region.

To their great surprise, the leaders of the "Movement for the National Independence of Latvia" heard from Western experts whom they had invited to a recent

conference in Riga that Western governments and businessmen are interested in stable cooperation with a stable Soviet Union.

RUDE PRAVO stressed that national feelings became for extremists a means for a dirty game with anti-Soviet allusions. In a situation when concentrated and constructive work is urgent, these forces opposed to perestroika in the Baltic republics are doing all they can to divert people away from this work, they foster mass passions and old wrongs, the paper added.

Deputy Premier Ends 5-Day Visit to USSR

LD3008091789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
2100 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Ladislav Vodrazka, deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Government and minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry, ended his 5-day working visit to the Soviet Union.

During his talks with Soviet partners he concentrated on a comprehensive assessment of the work achieved on coordinating the national economy plans of the two countries for the new 5-year plan and on securing a greater volume of Soviet exports to Czechoslovakia. They also discussed the conversion of the defense industry and cooperation in producing and exchanging ecological equipment, possibilities of supplies of electronic and computer technology by the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia, as well as supplies of Czechoslovak-produced complete plant equipment in exchange for supplies of products of chemical and wood-processing industries.

IZVESTIYA Interviews Adamec on Policies

AU3108162789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
30 Aug 89 p 6

["Substantial wording" of an interview with Ladislav Adamec, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, by the Soviet newspaper IZVESTIYA: "What We Are Striving For"; date, place not given]

[Text] As we reported on Tuesday [29 August], the Soviet newspaper IZVESTIYA published an interview with Ladislav Adamec, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier. Today we publish the substantial wording of the interview.

[Question] How would you assess the current stage of restructuring in the CSSR (restructuring of the national economy, of the political system, of the sphere of culture, and so forth)?

[Adamec] The program for the comprehensive restructuring of the socialist society has been implemented for less than 2 years—since the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee in December 1987. It follows up on the strategy for the acceleration of economic and social

development and, initially, it focused primarily on the restructuring of the economic mechanism. As time goes by, however, it goes beyond the framework of a mere economic reform. It is now associated with the program of democratization, with improving the activity of the CPCZ, the National Front, national committees, and our entire political system.

It is a complex process of acquisition of knowledge, decision making, and implementation. We realize more and more profoundly the dependence of economic reforms on political reforms and the mutual dependence of a higher quality of management and the new thinking. We are coming to the conclusion that long-standing deeply ingrained shortcomings cannot be eliminated by mere minor repairs or by tinkering with the status quo, but only on the basis of a program of revolutionary changes.

We draw example, reinforcement, and inspiration from the innovative activity of the CPSU in renewing and creatively developing the theory and practice of socialism in the Soviet Union. Despite differences in certain forms, in the choice of specific approaches, and in the pace of changes, we lean on essentially the same lessons from the past and use as our point of departure analogous sources of successes and inadequacies. We view the common features of social restructuring also as a significant prerequisite for deepening our comprehensive cooperation and raising its efficiency. I am opposed to the mechanical copying of other countries' practices. However, I equally reject all attempts to disregard generally valid laws and to underestimate useful experience. These stances are incorrect, no matter whether they are justified by incorrectly interpreted unique features or whether they arise from narrow, momentary interests, from complacency, or from laziness of thinking.

Personally, I have particularly high regard for the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet Government to restructure their own activity and for the attention they are devoting to working out the relationship between political and economic reform, between the struggle for the new thinking and a rational organization of labor on the one hand and high moral standards based on the unity of words and action on the other. Just as remarkable is the endeavor to do as much as possible to solve people's everyday needs, an endeavor based on the knowledge of their views and on trust in their readiness and ability to support the program of restructuring.

[Question] What are today's weak spots; will you succeed in eliminating them?

[Adamec] The 2 years of implementation of the program of restructuring are not a long time, but even in this period, we have had to overcome a whole number of weak spots. We are pressed for time because we have to make up for past omissions. Literally at every step, we come across examples of our trailing behind. Progress is hampered by various disproportions in the economy and

by the limited funds available. We have outdated production assets and lack an adequate theoretical base.

It is, however, in winning over the people that I see the crucial prerequisite of success. Not in the form of mere passive agreement and in the giving of a formal nod to our intentions. That would be too little, even though such notions linger on. What I have in mind is the shaping of the innermost conviction about the correctness of the policy of restructuring among the widest possible strata of the population. We must make sure that people are both materially and morally interested in restructuring and able to find their own niche in it, that every individual makes a conscious effort to make his personal contribution to it. This can only be achieved on the basis of the new thinking, more responsible approaches, and specific deeds. Such deeds do not come about all at once and with ease. They take shape, above all, in the struggle against outmoded views, against the inertia of ingrained habits, against everything which survives from the period of the extensive development of the economy and the bureaucratic and command methods of steering society.

[Question] There are various opinions regarding the lines along which the Czechoslovak national economy should further develop, regarding changes in its structure, and so forth. What is your approach?

[Adamec] I am a convinced advocate of economic reform. Without bringing this about consistently and comprehensively, it will be impossible to head off a further deterioration of the economic situation. Yet I do not see a universal recipe, a panacea for all ailments, in the mere radical change of the economic mechanism. To the contrary, I am of the opinion that we must at the same time radically restructure our economy. We must change the correlation between the primary, secondary, and tertiary spheres and dynamically develop forward-looking branches, sectors, and production lines while cutting down energy-intensive, material-intensive, and ineffective types of production. After more than 40 years of building socialism, the Federal Government is facing the task of embarking upon the practical implementation of profound structural changes. We are the first [socialist country] to start them on such a scale and with such a long-term view. We are unable to lean on the experience of other socialist countries. We want to graphically demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system, especially regarding the solution of social aspects, the planned provision of suitable jobs, retraining, and other matters connected with securing people's needs. We are already obtaining our first experience from the cutback in uranium ore extraction. It is becoming apparent that, given a correct explanation and a responsible preparation, it is possible to combine society's interests with the interests of labor collectives.

[Question] The CSSR has always been noted for its strong social policy. If one may say so, there is nothing for you to restructure in this respect. Nonetheless, what

impact (positive or negative) will the process of restructuring in the economy have on the social standing of Czechoslovak citizens?

[Adamec] When a comparison is made with the situation in other countries—particularly with regard to the availability of goods in the shops—it may appear that we need not change much in the social sphere. But that would be an oversimplified interpretation of the matter. The population's demands regarding their living standards and the quality of social security are constantly growing. At the same time, there has not been an improvement in this sector in the eighties, but a stagnation and, in some respects, even a deterioration. I am thinking, in particular, of health care—but not only of health care. It is well known that 25 years ago, Czechoslovakia was one of the most advanced countries in the world in this sphere, by which it contributed a great deal to the attractiveness of socialism as a whole. This is no longer the case today and we cannot, and do not want to, resign ourselves to it. The idea of regaining this leading position is a very acute one among the people and the rapid improvement of living conditions in the advanced capitalist states is making this issue even more topical. This is why the CSSR Government sees in the accelerated restructuring of social policy, not only a way of regaining our position in the world, but also a basic means of increasing political and economic activity and, thereby, of raising the efficiency of our entire social system. People want tangible and rapid proof that restructuring is being done in their interest and for their benefit. They must feel its fruits in the social sphere, above all. We know that this is no easy matter, that we must first earn and obtain the resources for many improvements. But we cannot back away from this intention.

[Question] It is known that the Czechoslovak reform of the 1960's was worked out and implemented by the CPCZ and the government until the time of the crisis in 1968-69. What was useful in the ideas of that time? Were they successfully implemented? Was the negative attitude toward certain political errors of that time not also transferred to the ideas of the economic reform?

[Adamec] This is already the third economic reform we are introducing. On the one hand, this makes it possible to draw on the valuable experience of the earlier experiments, but, at the same time, this leads to a certain cautiousness, concern, and mistrust. Both these factors are actually at work today and we must take them into consideration. The fact that as early as 1957 a plenary session of the CPCZ Central Committee addressed the issue of raising the effectiveness of the national economy is not bereft of interest. However, the bitter truth remains that a country which had the best prerequisites for being the first to come up with solutions for making the transition from an extensive to an intensive type of developing socialism did not—for both internal and external reasons—succeed in doing this, to the detriment of slowing down [as published] its own development as

well as the development of the entire socialist community. It is all the more important that the current economic reform is introduced into daily life consistently, regardless of obstacles. We do not expect an immediate improvement, but any retreat or going back would condemn our country to a subordinate status once and for all. This also would be a heavy blow to socialism, and not only in our country.

In the subconsciousness of both the party and the economic arena there still remain quite a few discoveries from the efforts of the 1950's and 1960's, when we tried to increase the independence of enterprises, introduce cost relations more extensively, and eliminate the administrative interpretation of the state plan. However, the present-day approaches to these issues also are influenced by the fact that these plans were realized incomprehensively and in a half-baked manner, and were abandoned shortly afterwards. This, in many cases, discredited the expended effort. It is also true that when overcoming the consequences of the crisis at the end of the 1960's, economic reforms were slowed down for a long time, and the possibilities for creatively developing economic theory and experimenting became substantially limited. Far too much time and energy were devoted to criticizing various opinions and views and too little time was given to finding positive solutions to practical economic problems. Along with rejecting some political extremes, the generally correct effort aimed at adapting both economic theory and practice to the new conditions was also cast in doubt. This caused not only great economic damage, but also political and moral damage. In the consciousness of many people there still prevails a considerable mistrust of new things and a concern about possible risks and errors. It is not a simple matter to get rid of such deeply rooted notions, in more than one case connected with loyalty to the ideals of socialism. However, we cannot progress without this, and this is by far no longer only an economic affair, but also a political and ideological affair.

[Question] One of the main tasks of restructuring is shifting away from stringent central management, opening a scope for activity below. How, in your opinion, will this appear in the content and extent of the government's work? What problems will you have personally?

[Adamec] Currently, the old administrative instruments are ceasing to function and the new economic instruments are only beginning to function. Therefore, the government must also somehow combine the administrative with the economic methods of management. This is a transitional affair, which is not always correctly understood. We come across the views that we allow matters to drift too much, that, as a government, we regulate the situation in the national economy insufficiently. On the other hand, we are being criticized for not yet having learned to employ economic methods and to proceed by means of indirect methods of investment, tax, and credit policy. We all are learning to manage in the new manner, but under conditions of both internal

and external economic imbalance, deformations of a number of our correct intentions do occur, and we are forced to employ certain regulatory measures, for example as regards the observance of the principles of the wage policy. As another example I would like to name the government's decision on substantially limiting new construction startups—with certain exceptions—until the end of this year.

We also consider the gradual change of the proportions between the day to day [operativni] and strategic decisionmaking—restricting the first and strengthening the second—to be a weighty problem in respect to the style of work. More and more conceptual materials and long-term programs have been cropping up in the government's work content in recent months. However, we cannot be satisfied with the fact that some of them—and this also applies to both the long-term and the general national economic and branches-related forecasts—remain largely on the plane of general intentions without sufficient proof of economic effectiveness, without offering alternatives or optional solutions. We are trying to counteract this by a closer cooperation of branch and cross-sectional bodies, ministries, and scientific institutes. Individual ministers, too, must bear greater responsibility for the government policy as a whole, and for the ministries entrusted to them. They must not rely, as used to be the case, only on the force of resolutions, but must be bolder, take risks, and invest more initiative in the common feat. The current level of government work is still far from my idea of what it should be. In the future, we will be confronted with the greater part of the necessary changes in the content and style of the government's work. And in this I see my greatest personal problem.

[Question] People of many nationalities live in the CSSR, and much has been done to ensure their genuine equal rights. Slovakia is a telling example. During the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, the nations of the CSSR are proudly recalling that socialism transformed the previously backward country into the present, prospering republic...but are there no problems in this area today? Are people conscious of the nationalities issue in the CSSR to some extent?

[Adamec] The practical results of the solution of the nationality issue are a telling example of the correctness of the Leninist approach. We regard the equalization of the social and economic levels in the Czech and the Slovak Socialist Republics to be one of the greatest successes of the CPCZ policy. This, however, does not mean that the road to the present has been without problems, without one-sided approaches in state-legal, political, economic, or cultural matters. However, we have succeeded in gradually resolving the ensuing complexities, learning from mistakes, and seeking optimal solutions corresponding to our conditions and the level of the development of the nations and nationalities in the CSSR. However, the positive assessment of the nationalities' relations in our country does not mean that

they are free of problems. Last year we reacted to the needs of life by deciding to establish a committee for party work in the Czech Socialist Republic and determine principles for a more just distribution of the resources of the federation to the individual national republics. A number of nationalities live in our republics, for the comprehensive development of which we are creating ever better conditions. In connection with the preparations of the new CSSR Constitution, we also contemplate making our federative system not only ethnically just, but also sufficiently effective, flexible, and economic.

[Question] The cooperative movement in Czechoslovakia has a long and uninterrupted history. Much experience has been acquired. Would you, please, say a few words about the government's cooperation with the cooperative sector of the economy?

[Adamec] Cooperatives have an important place in our economy. In Czechoslovakia today, there are almost 850 production, housing, and consumer cooperatives. Cooperative trade accounts for 40 percent of the retail trade turnover. Housing cooperatives build almost twice as many apartments as the state. A total of 1,658 agricultural cooperatives till 65 percent of agricultural land. The cooperative sector employs 13.3 percent of all persons working in the national economy.

In connection with the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the cooperative sector of our economy is also undergoing certain changes. We are trying to make more efficient use of the great potential of the traditions of the cooperative idea in our country—of its entire wealth as regards combining individual interests with collective and national interests, as regards production and social viewpoints, people's motivation through broad democratism and self-management. By their flexibility and profitability, the majority of cooperatives rank among the successful enterprises. However, we need more small cooperatives, especially in the interest of expanding and improving services of all kinds.

, along with the national governments, an important element in our cooperative movement. We respect the independence of cooperative organs. The government supports the Central Council of Cooperatives as the supreme organization of Czechoslovak collectivism, which is an important element of our economic and social system. Therefore, the government's decisions regarding it are of a recommendatory nature.

[Question] Besides the National Front, in Czechoslovakia there are several social organizations, including those which are termed "illegal groups." How is the CSSR Government developing or how does it want to develop its relations with one or other of the groups?

[Adamec] Social life in our country is traditionally rich, not only in relation to its size, but also in relation to its broad diversity which satisfies the most varied interests and tastes. The following facts bear this out: In the CPCZ, the other four political parties, and the 26 social

and special-interest organizations affiliated in the National Front, there is a total of 28 million members. At the same time, in our country there are around 300 legally authorized voluntary organizations and associations. The majority of citizens are members of a number of organizations. It goes without saying that this has great advantages and expediency for the wide realization of the capabilities and opinions of the people and for their mass stake in the creation, implementation, and control of policy. However, I am far from considering the situation based on the figures. Life indicates that this high level of organization is in many cases over-organization and that an individual's membership in many organizations does not guarantee his activity but, on the contrary, often leads to formalism. Recently, the CPCZ Central Committee came out decisively against the pursuit of members at all costs, a pursuit for documenting activity on paper. The situation is not changing as quickly as we would like; force of habit continues to prevent a more accelerated progress.

In its policy statement a year ago, the government unequivocally highlighted interest in acquiring the broadest support possible from citizens and in conducting a dialogue with all honest people. In our work style, we have conducted regular joint discussions on matters concerning specific groups of the population with organs of the National Front, the Central Trade Union Council, the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, and we are also preparing to collaborate with the Czechoslovak Women's Union and other social organizations.

In recent years, a number of organizations have indeed evolved outside the framework of the National Front. There is no reason to adopt a negative attitude toward those who by their deeds display a sincere interest in a constructive solution to social problems. We have a sincere and working attitude toward the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation. As advocates of socialist pluralism and the implementation of the method of dialogue, we are willing to hold discussions, subject to criticism, and make use of comments and suggestions. However, it is difficult to seek a common language with those oriented toward destructive activity and making attacks on the fundamental values and interests of the socialist state and who have set out on a path of violating the law and events to exert pressure.

We are expending a great deal of effort to widely popularize the government's work and to openly inform the public of our intentions. We have introduced the practice of systematic appearances by members of the government in the mass media and regular press conferences on government business, and we are also considering other forms of closer collaboration with the general public. We know that the government will not get by without a regular flow of information to the public and without an open policy.

[Question] Recently, you returned from the Soviet Union where you had been on vacation. What are your personal impressions—not as a premier but, first and foremost, as a tourist?

[Adamec] First and foremost, as a tourist, I was on vacation—although I did also use my time to prepare other work. However, I followed the mass media with interest, I had the opportunity to hold talks with a number of Soviet comrades, and I visited several cities. Even from this partial knowledge, I came away with the impression that the atmosphere of restructuring is distinguished by absolute openness, with the bold search for points of departure, and with a great deal of responsibility for the future. This is also what we are striving for in our country.

Adamec Receives West Bohemian Farmers

LD3008171289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1500 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec met today with a delegation of farmers from the West Bohemian region.

He thanked all those who deserve credit for this year's record grain crop. He exchanged views with his guests on the present situation in agriculture, on restructuring the economic mechanism, and on some other topical questions. He stressed the significance of stable agriculture for our economy and for supplies to the domestic market. He also pointed to the management reserves of individual enterprises and said that the government will not be afraid to give agricultural cooperatives and state farms enough space for enterprise projects.

Adamec To Pay Official Visit to Romania 5-6 Sep

LD3008162489 Prague CTK in English
1150 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec will pay an official friendly visit to Romania on September 5-6.

The visit will take place at the invitation of Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu.

GDR Envoy on 'Dogmatist' Label, Refugees

LD3108083589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0400 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] GDR Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Helmut Ziebart has talked to our journalist in Prague about building an advanced socialist society in the GDR. As he said, 37 years ago the GDR was called upon to make use of any Soviet experiences. Now we are labelled dogmatist simply because we do not want to mechanically assume the present changes in the Soviet Union, Ziebart noted. As he said, the GDR puts emphasis on intensification and the social direction of the economy. Problems are caused, however, by the fact that in the GDR there is

a 35,000-man shortage in the labor force and there are strikes in Poland, which are disturbing supplies of Soviet raw materials.

In replies to journalists' questions, Ziebart stated that GDR citizens who are now staying at foreign diplomatic missions, should return to the GDR by a legal route, to apply to emigrate. According to his statement they are guaranteed impunity.

Discusses 'Hostile Pressure'

*LD3108143689 Prague CTK in English
1328 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Prague Aug 31 (CTK)—"The GDR has been exposed to hostile pressure and attacks of West German intelligence services and several politicians. For more than 37 years we were asked not to adopt any Soviet experience, and now we are described as dogmatists when not mechanically accepting the changes carried out in the Soviet Union", GDR Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Helmut Ziebart told Czechoslovak journalists here today.

He said that the GDR is now being recommended, even by the U.S. President, the ways of thinking in Poland and Hungary as worth following. He stressed that despite errors and mistakes the GDR has always observed the principle of continuity and reconstruction in building socialism.

He pointed to problems arising for the GDR in connection with the situation in Poland, the Soviet Union and other countries, e.g. the strike of transport workers in Poland caused heavy losses to the GDR which imports materials from the Soviet Union through Polish territory.

The GDR ambassador also answered questions concerning the GDR citizens who stayed at the FRG embassy in Budapest in the past few days. He said they can in no case be regarded as political refugees according to the Vienna Convention. The Hungarian side formerly promised not to allow any of the GDR citizens to emigrate to West Germany, but finally they were taken away from Hungary by a Swiss airplane hired by the Red Cross organization, the ambassador said, appreciating in this context the principled attitude of Czechoslovak authorities.

"The GDR wants its citizens currently staying at foreign embassies to return to their country and ask legally for emigration", he said, adding that these citizens are guaranteed that they will not be punished.

Daily Looks for Better Relations With Hungary

*LD0109082489 Prague CTK in English
0632 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] Prague Sept 1 (CTK)—"Let us hope that the closure of the case of two Hungarian citizens who broke Czechoslovak laws on Czechoslovak territory puts an

end to strong feelings we have witnessed in some Hungarian information media in the past few days", RUDE PRAVO said today.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party paper noted Wednesday's comment in the Hungarian paper NEPSZ-ABADSAG, which appreciated the constructive and rational attitude of Czechoslovak authorities, and stressed that confidence has strengthened in that the two countries' policy is based on identical fundamental positions, on the fact that Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation and friendship are too important to allow anyone to disturb them.

In this context the paper stressed that Czechoslovakia is doing its best for Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations to continue developing on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and respect for the interests of each country and non-interference in internal affairs.

Obzina, Huang Yicheng on CSSR-PRC Cooperation

*AU3008125389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
29 Aug 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "On Prospects for Czechoslovak-Chinese Relations"]

[Text] Prague—The PRC delegation headed by Minister of Energy Resources Huang Yicheng, which in the CSSR attended the fifth session of the Czechoslovak-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, left Prague for home on Monday [28 August].

Prior to his departure, Huang Yicheng gave an interview to a CTK correspondent. He said that he is very impressed with the visit to the CSSR, and that the session of the joint commission was a success. "The economic relations between our countries are developing very rapidly. Compared with last year, mutual trade rose by 8.6 percent. Both China and Czechoslovakia, as socialist states, are in different stages of development, but they can complement one another. We in the PRC need a number of CSSR products and, vice versa, our products find use in Czechoslovakia. With joint efforts in the economy and trade we can achieve great development."

Asked about direct relations between Czechoslovak and Chinese producers, he said that cooperation has already been established between the Chinese province of Jiangsu and the Czech Socialist Republic. Contacts between the pertinent engineering, power engineering, and light industry bodies are also beginning to take a concrete shape. The Chinese guest described those relations as very promising.

Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and head of the Czechoslovak delegation at the session, provided additional information about the session of the joint commission. He said that the deliveries to the CSSR of

Chinese electronic consumer goods, especially color television sets, will be sufficiently expanded before the end of the year. Also, the import of freezers and washing machines is contemplated. Regarding broader cooperation, proposals have been worked out on utilizing Chinese construction capacities in housing construction in the CSSR, especially in connection with civil engineering and connected construction projects. The Chinese side showed great interest in Czechoslovak nuclear power engineering. In agriculture, possible cooperation will concentrate mainly on animal production and some organizational issues connected with large-scale socialist enterprises, because Chinese experience reveals that the orientation on small farms has apparently not yielded the envisaged effect, Jaromir Obzina said.

Editorial Skeptical About Foreign Credits

AU0109081389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
30 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "We Will Not Become Indebted"]

[Text] Our economy is entering a new stage of development which is characterized by the application of the new rules of the economic mechanism throughout the entire national economy. However, the economic mechanism itself is not, and cannot be, a panacea for all problems of our economy. Getting our economy to the desired level requires not only honest work and competent decisions by ranking personnel on all levels, but also considerable financial and material resources which are necessary to carry out fundamental structural changes and modernize the production base.

In this situation the following question crops up: How are we going to pay for all those programs? The easiest solution, proposed by some experts and laymen, would be to take up credits from Western banks. After all, Czechoslovakia has a good reputation in the financial world and the credit conditions are favorable. On the other hand, we are aware of the experience some of our neighbors have had with being greatly indebted (even though one has to realize that they have not always handled the borrowed dollars well).

However, Czechoslovakia will not embark on the path of increasing its foreign debt. Our gross debt, which has risen somewhat, amounted to \$6.7 billion at the end of last year, a matter that still ranks us among the least indebted socialist countries. The aforementioned figure, published at the 14th session of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, includes—in addition to the total debt of the state bank—also the approximate debt of our enterprises which trade with foreign countries while taking advantage of the usual trade credits. The gross bank debt, about the volume of which our public has also been openly informed lately, totaled \$3.8 billion on 31 December 1988.

We cannot be satisfied with the development of the foreign currency economy in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The dynamics of the growth of exports and incomes in

freely convertible currencies is lower than the plan has envisaged, and also the effectiveness of foreign trade has not fundamentally changed. However, the enterprise sphere and the sectors managed by ministries have been trying to increase the debt further. Their demands for imports have been increasing from year to year, and at the same time they have been exhibiting nonchalance toward the obligation to pay off debts. The existing pressure for increasing the volume of credits to be taken up has been caused by the general development of the national economy in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, especially by the lower-than-planned rate of the growth of the national income generated compared with the high increase of the national income expended. The consequence of the aforementioned facts is that the issue of taking up of foreign credits has risen. In the first 3 years of the 5-year plan our debt grew by \$1.7 billion, which includes the estimated debts of enterprises.

The fact is—since we are not only international debtors but also international creditors—that the volume of credits which we have granted in freely convertible currencies to foreign countries exceeds [previous word published in wided spaced print] the volume of credits taken up. However, the structure of the Czechoslovak claims abroad, from both the territorial and the qualitative viewpoint, does not make it possible to make use of the fact that, regarding the overall balance sheet, we are creditors [previous word published in wided spaced print] in relation to the world.

The 14th session of the party Central Committee held last June also regarded the issue of not tolerating increasing the indebtedness in freely convertible currencies as one of the most topical tasks. We do not renounce making use of foreign credits, but we will consistently link them with creating substantive conditions for the growth of the effectiveness of exports to the leading capitalist countries.

In the very consistency and stringency of credit policy there is something to improve. After all, engineering, for example, increased exports for freely convertible currency by 0.7 percent but also increased its imports by 5.7 percent. We want to and we will import advanced technology for convertible currency, but we must not uncompromisingly demand that convertible products, that is, goods sold on markets with convertible currency, be produced on the basis of these technologies. We will not allow our indebtedness to become an economic or even a political burden with far-reaching consequences for economic development and the standard of living.

Where, then, do we want to acquire the resources to implement all these necessary changes in our economy? First and foremost, by the ideal utilization of the contemporary potential of our economy and by the mobilization of huge reserves in the efficiency of its operation.

For example, we are faced with the fundamental resolution of the problem of capital investment. In the first quarter of this year, a survey carried out in 104 new

production capacities by the People's Control Committees, the State Planning Commission, the Federal Ministry of Finance, and the Czechoslovak State Bank revealed a shortfall to the tune of Kcs40 billion as a consequence of not adhering to the projected parameters. While in the advanced industrial countries the share of modernization and reconstruction in capital investment amounts to roughly 50 percent, it is only 17 percent in our country. The blame for this lies in the fact that the planned volume of investments during the first 3 years of the 5-year plan was exceeded by Kcs8 billion.

Technical development and the quality of products are insufficient. Last year the highest quality grading was accorded to 130 products; of these, only 12 were engineering products and none of them were electronic or electrotechnical. At the same time, these sectors are the main bearers of technological progress.

The fall in energy demand remained far behind expectations. In sectors of industry, changes in production in favor of products that require less energy did not take place, and this approach is continuing even during preparations for the Ninth 5-Year Plan when demands for fuels and energy are once more exceeding the available resources.

At the beginning of next year, we will enter into the first stage of the implementation of the new economic mechanism. It would be more than short-sighted to expect that the national economy will suddenly on its own burst into a sprint from its leisurely pace and that economic reform will automatically resolve shortcomings for us. Only honest work and, first and foremost, quality decision-making by management at all levels, from the factory leadership all the way up to the government, will assist us in utilizing reserves. The new mechanism creates space for such decisionmaking.

For example, starting this year, in foreign exchange management with freely convertible currencies important measures were adopted which substantially change the economic position of the enterprises. Dependence between foreign currency resources which have been gained and the possibilities for imports has been markedly increased. On the basis of foreign currency norms, manufacturing enterprises and foreign trade organizations are no longer interested in the volume of material exports, but in the resources which really come into their bank account.

Delaying the utilization of the above-mentioned reserves and a series of other reserves, bringing about changes too slowly in the redistribution of resources from the less efficient to the more efficient branches and sectors, and all the consequences of this mean living to the detriment of the future. The delayed renewal of obsolete manufacturing equipment, the housing stock, and the transportation network, as well as delays in the modernization and construction of communications networks, and in the introduction of computer technology resources, and the increasing demands for a solution to the environmental

situation represent a significant degree of the domestic "indebtedness" of our economy. Every day procrastination grows and in the future its repayment could seriously threaten the population's standard of living, to at least the same degree as foreign indebtedness.

CPCZ Central Committee Session Set for 6-7 Oct

*LD0109114389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1030 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium decided at its session today to call the 15th session of the party's Central Committee for 6 and 7 October of this year. The agenda for the deliberations of the Central Committee includes a report on the activity of the CPCZ following the 14th Central Committee session and its tasks before the 18th party congress, which will be delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

A report on party's policy in regard to the creation and protection of the living environment will be delivered by Comrade Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The session will discuss new draft statutes of the CPCZ.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium heard a report on the preparation of a nationwide conference of teachers. It decided on sending a delegation of the CPCZ to the meeting for ideological questions of secretaries of the central committees of fraternal parties, which should be held in Berlin on 20-23 September. The delegation is to be headed by Comrade Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The agenda of the meeting includes exchanges of opinion on the topical questions of ideological work of fraternal parties and exchanges of opinion on deepening cooperation in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The Presidium discussed changes in the organizational structure of the aims of the activity and systemization of some departments of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

Janak Speech on Slovak Uprising Anniversary

*LD2608155189 Prague Television Service
in Slovak at 0907 GMT 26 Aug 89*

[Speech by Ignac Janak, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia, at a festive joint meeting of the central bodies of the Slovak Socialist Republic in Banska Bystrica to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade General Secretary, Esteemed Comrade President, dear guests, esteemed comrades!

In the last days of August 45 years ago, revolutionary Slovakia rose in order to wipe out the clergy-controlled fascist regime dependent on Hitlerite Germany. It proclaimed on rebel territory, whose core is here in Banska Bystrica, the creation of the people's and democratic republic free from errors and mistakes of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia. Thus the Slovak people principally, resolutely, and finally rejected the clero-fascism, which had hitherto presented itself in a usurping manner as a representative of the will of the Slovak people. It unanimously expressed its attachment to the forces of progress, to the European antifascist struggle, to all people's waging an active struggle for freedom. It demonstrated its aspiration and resolve to live together with the Czech people in a common state built on new political foundations, possessing social and national justice.

These realities were highly appraised by Klement Gottwald on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising, when he said, and I quote: The reality that we have a new republic, that we have our own state of equal Czechs and Slovaks, the state of the working people, the republic in which the working people are masters of the destiny of their country and people in the inseparable alliance with the powerful Soviet Union, I consider to be the greatest achievement of the Slovak national uprising, end quote.

The achievements of the Slovak national uprising were in the entire breadth and depth of their extent undoubtedly reaffirmed by the development of our society and they continue to successfully develop. We proudly acknowledge the (main) Slovak national uprising as the most important event of our modern history, which started the Czechoslovak people's and democratic revolution. Our returns to its sources and forward-moving forces do not represent only homage, but they are inspired by the effort to draw out from it life-giving strength, experiences, and resolve to realize the grand objectives of the restructuring of all society.

Comrades! We recall with profound respect the revolutionary deeds of the Communists and other antifascists who were preparing the heroic action of the Slovak people both at home and abroad and their heroic struggle against hated fascism. We shall never forget the selfless officials of the Slovak national bodies, the Slovak National Council and its members, the revolutionary national committees, works committees, and all those who were building a new life on the rebel territory. The heroism of the thousands of Slovak, Czech, and Soviet partisans and soldiers, the Romanians, Bulgarians, French, Poles, Hungarians, Serbs, as well as the fighters from other countries, who were waging armed struggle for freedom and for the defense of revolutionary achievements on the fronts of the uprising and later in the difficult conditions of partisan struggle thanks to the all-around devotedness, support, and help of the Slovak people and the Soviet Union, will always remain in the memory of our peoples.

We pay our deepest respects to those who gave up the most valuable thing, their lives, for the great ideals fought for in the uprising, to defeat fascism sooner, and for the idea of freedom and justice common to all humanity. We bow our heads in memory of those who were victims of fascist and fascist guard's terror and whose lives ended in the concentration camps and mass graves. We pay homage to and we creatively continue the work of all those who, in the national liberation struggle and after the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, courageously, selflessly, and dauntlessly wrote the best pages of Czechoslovak history, who opened the gates of freedom and democracy for our people and nationalities. The fruit of their work and their sacrifices oblige us to fulfill, develop in an all-around way, and protect the bright bequest of the Slovak national uprising. We shall be solving in a more thorough way the immediate and future tasks of social development, as well as working to accelerate the struggle to further elevate socialism as a revolutionary, humanitarian, and profoundly democratic alternative development of mankind.

Esteemed guests and comrades: The nationwide uprising 45 years ago brought to its culmination almost 6 years of struggle by the working class, the working and patriotically oriented peasantry, the progressive intelligentsia, and the antifascist bourgeoisie against Nazism and the clerical-fascist regime of violence, human suffering, and political and moral decline. The spirit of creativity and foresight through which the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] and its fifth illegal central leadership managed to work out and apply in the specific conditions of Slovakia the strategic and tactical policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], formulated by its leadership abroad led by Klement Gottwald, will forever remain an example of active party work. Among the greatest and lasting service of Karol Smidke, Gustav Husak, and Ladislav Novomecky, who were in the fifth illegal central leadership, is the fact that under their leadership the CPSL formulated and implemented through struggle the program of national and democratic revolution. This program was adopted by the broadest strata of people and it led to the safeguarding of the leading position of the working class in the struggle against fascism in the course of the practical implementation of the national and democratic revolution and in the course of the further development of our society.

We are extremely proud and pleased that one of the revolutionary members of the Slovak national uprising, Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president, is taking part in today's festive session. [applause] The Slovak national uprising, the struggle of the working class and the working people for national and social liberation and the construction of a socialist society are forever linked with his name and work.

Nobody can deny that during the preparations for and during the uprising the Communist Party, as a politically and organizationally united social force, concentrated around itself all democratic and antifascist strata. It

became a core of the National Front which proved itself positively in the struggle for national liberation in the years when national and democratic revolution was growing into a socialist revolution. In its renewed shape it also reaffirmed its historical justification in the period of socialist construction. This was once more stressed here in Banska Bystrica by Comrade Gustav Husak 10 years ago. I quote: The political system of our socialist society, the entire profoundly democratic structure of the political bodies of the socialist state which relies on the national committees and the National Front headed by the CPCZ has its foundation in the revolutionary bodies of state power whose formation began at the Communists' initiative during the Slovak national uprising and which were gradually established on the whole liberated territory, end quote.

It was the Communist Party that succeeded by using its initiative to create a nationwide body—the Slovak National Council—and on Christmas 1943 it formulated its platform. The Christmas Agreement was a great victory for the concept of the broad antifascist and national liberation struggle, a concept which the Communists successfully pushed through. The Slovak National Council, as the sole representative of the political will of the Slovak nation at home, voiced in this agreement its resolve to lead in unity and from one center the struggle of the Slovak people against the clerical-fascist regime until its defeat and for the creation of a new Czechoslovak republic which would be a common state of two equal nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks. According to these notions, Czechoslovakia was to be a democratic state which, in contrast to the pre-Munich republic, would spread the idea of democracy, and indeed deepen it, to the economic and social sphere, to education, culture, and upbringing. In the foreign political arena the new republic was to lean on the alliance with the Soviet Union.

By uniting the main antifascist segments, the national liberation struggle in Slovakia reached a qualitatively higher level. Direct preparations were begun to proclaim a nationwide armed rising of the Slovak people. Through political and organizational work the leadership of the CPSL and indeed the whole party succeeded in winning over broad groups of the working people for the program of the revolution and in stepping up their revolutionary zeal. These experiences from the preparation and the course of the uprising are a rich and inexhaustible source of knowledge and the use of the methods and forms of work with people.

This is especially important during the current stage when, at the initiative and under the leadership of the CPCZ, we are endeavoring to carry out restructuring throughout society. The Communist Party thus succeeded both in the political and military preparations of the uprising in applying the Leninist principles of revolution. It not only succeeded in organizing an armed army of the working people and the partisan movement, but also in drawing into the uprising a considerable section of the Slovak Army. This was also influenced by

the great victories of the Soviet Army at Stalingrad and in the Kursk area, which signified a fundamental turn in the course of World War II.

At the same time, the organizers of the uprising realized that the military and political success of the uprising required a coordinated course of action with the Soviet Army. The daring plan to enable the Red Army to pass through the territory under the control of the insurgents and thus to speed its path to Vienna required a change of the strategic military intentions of the Soviet Army, which was moving in two main directions—toward Warsaw and toward Budapest and Vienna. However, before the desired coordination could be achieved the Nazis reached an agreement with the clerical-fascist government and began to occupy Slovakia. This was a signal for resolute armed resistance.

The clerical-fascist regime was eliminated in the liberated rebel territory. The Slovak National Council took power; the revolutionary national committees took power in the villages and districts. The factory committees took over the management of the works. The Communist Party came out of illegality and became, for the first time in its history, the ruling party on our territory. A new political system was created, based on the power of the working people and some antifascist bourgeoisie. The working class, which was politically represented by the CPSL, was its leading force. In mid-October a conference of factory committees and organizers corps met in Podbrezova. It not only laid the foundations for the unity of the trade unions in Czechoslovakia, but also formulated the main tasks of the trade union, which are still valid today.

The revolutionary national committees started working as the bodies of people's power and public administration. In them, the working people were learning how to manage, to tackle complex problems, and to care for all spheres of life and the needs of the front in the unusually difficult conditions of the national liberation struggle.

The heroic struggle of the rebel Slovakia is inseparably linked with the extensive help and support of the Soviet Union—the first country of socialism. It was precisely the Soviet Union that gave decisive material, political, and moral support to the fighters at the rebel fronts and also in the period of partisan struggle. The names and actions of the legendary partisan commanders Aleksey Nikitich Osmolov, Petr Alekseyevich Velichko, Aleksey Semenovitch Yegorov, Vyacheslav Antonovich Khikhinskiy, Aleksey Mikhaylovich Sadelenko, Mikhail Shukayev and others remain deeply imprinted in the minds of our people.

The Carpathian-Dukla operation, unleashed by the Red Army at the beginning of September 1944, was intended to help the Slovak national uprising. Despite the fact that the Soviet command did not count on crossing the Carpathian Mountains, it planned and commenced an attack on the fascist defenses in a very short space of time. The 1 Czechoslovak Army Corps, formed in the

Soviet Union and commanded by Ludvik Svoboda, also took part in it. The fighting for every inch of soil was extremely heavy and took a heavy toll in human casualties. Tens of thousands of dead and wounded Soviet and Czechoslovak soldiers cemented the inviolable friendship and alliance of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on the blood-soaked Dukla battlefield.

By its profoundly international nature, the Slovak national uprising became a part of a broad antifascist stream. Members of 27 nationalities fought side by side with the Slovak antifascists on the rebel fronts. The uprising evoked an exceptionally warm response, especially in the Czech patriots. Having demonstrated great courage and heroism, many of them came to assist the struggle of the Slovak people against the hated fascism. The relations of profound respect, mutuality, and cooperation of our two fraternal peoples are personified mainly by the life and work of Jan Sverma, the dedicated revolutionary, patriot, and internationalist, the hero of the Slovak national uprising, whose life ended prematurely in the Slovak mountains and whose life is deeply entrenched in the hearts of the Slovak people.

The Slovak national uprising also received an exceptional response abroad. As one of the important armed mass movements in fascist-occupied Europe, it drew a wave of political and moral support. It also had a strong impact on Czechoslovak emigrants in the West. The progressive ones sympathized with it as the beginning of new life in Czechoslovakia.

The armed people and the military forces of the uprising succeeded in systematically defending the liberated territory, which covered one-third of Slovakia. Almost 60,000 soldiers of the insurgent army and 20,000 partisans, with the selfless help of the population, conducted a heroic resistance in the face of overwhelming enemy forces. The armed struggle against fascism continued with no less intensity after the insurgent forces went over to the partisan way of fighting at the end of October 1944.

History has confirmed unequivocally that out of the gains and experiences of the antifascist and national liberation struggle waged by the Czech and Slovak peoples there grew the seeds of the future revolutionary struggle for the socialist orientation of our nations, for our socialist present. The Slovak national uprising demonstrated convincingly how much heroism people are capable of achieving when fighting for freedom and what creative forces are unleashed in them by their awareness of being the sovereign administrators of their affairs. The Slovak nation demonstrated 45 years ago the conviction that without a struggle for freedom, one cannot claim to manage one's own destiny.

At the same time we recently have been witnessing attempts to devise various theories designed to distort and disparage the Slovak national uprising. Since they cannot deny the leading role the Communist Party played in the uprising, they at least want to put forward

false notions that the sacrifices made in it were unnecessary. We shall not permit them to denigrate the historic significance of this historic event. It will forever be a constant, living part of the Slovak and Czechoslovak national consciousness and of common uplifting and inspiring traditions.

Comrades, in the years that have passed since the glorious Slovak national uprising, profound political, economic, social, spiritual, and cultural transformations have taken place in our homeland. Its legacy has been fulfilled and developed further. Amid complicated developments, great ideals triumphed in the name of which the insurgents went to struggle for national liberation and a just social scheme for the united Czechoslovak republic.

Ranking among the key results of the revolutionary transformations is the fundamental change in the position of the working man. By eliminating exploitation, the previous sharp class differences, insecurity, and worries about tomorrow disappeared. The right to work and to rest guaranteed by the constitution, the great growth both in personal and social consumption, general accessibility and high standards of education and culture, the development of science, the broadly developed system of social security and pensions; care for mothers, families with children and the young generation; as well as the building of educational, cultural, sports, and other facilities and large-scale housing construction—all this is convincing proof of the gains of socialism. It confirms that the main purpose of the policy of the Communist Party, the National Front, and of the socialist state has always been, is, and will be care for the well-being of man, respect for his rights, interests, and needs and for securing them.

The overcoming of the differences in the position and life of our peoples belongs among the historical results of developing the revolutionary bequest of the Slovak national uprising in conditions of socialist construction. The policy objective of the generation of the rebels—the federative system of the state and the lasting efforts aimed at the all-around development of fraternal coexistence of the Czechs, Slovaks, and other nationalities—was achieved by adopting the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation. The relations between our peoples and nationalities are based upon mutual trust, respect, and cooperation. We shall resolutely protect, develop, and strengthen them, because they represent the foundation of our progress. The especially marked results in the years of socialist construction, which can be seen everywhere, were achieved at Slovakia. Industrialization, in the course of which a vast number of important industrial enterprises and plants were built, has made it possible to increase industrial production 32 fold in comparison with 1948. The Slovak Socialist Republic contributes 30.5 percent of the state's industrial production.

Life in our countryside has changed in an even more marked way. By bringing about socialist cooperative

mass production, its long-standing backwardness and poverty was eliminated. Gross agricultural production has grown 2.6 fold in comparison with 1948 and Slovakia's contribution to the state production constitutes 33 percent. The necessary material resources for implementing the CPCZ's social program and for meeting the growing needs of the population are created through the development of the economy. Since 1948 personal consumption has grown more than 6.5 fold and social consumption has grown 17 fold.

The results we achieved in Slovakia and in the whole republic while fulfilling and developing the bequest of the Slovak national uprising confirm the historical correctness of the socialist choice of our peoples. Socialism has proved and continues to prove its ability to tackle social economic, cultural, and other needs of the people. A firm material, social, and spiritual base has been created, from which we proceed in fulfilling the present-time tasks.

While recalling the grand work accomplished by our people, we do not lose sight of the difficult nature of the path we have traveled. We had to come to terms with objective influences which hampered the construction of socialism, but we also had to come to terms with subjective errors, mistakes, and distortions which are alien to socialism and which caused considerable damage. We have not managed to use all the opportunities for the development and the potential of society, to prepare on time for the start of the scientific and technical revolution, and to implement to the desired extent some attempts at social and, especially, economic reforms. We are fully aware of the exceptionally high requirements imposed by the unavoidable feature of the socialist system—to fulfill the historical mission of the revolutionary road aimed at furthering mankind's progress. The new tasks and objectives require that we make an organic link with all that is positive in our past achievements, that we rid ourselves of everything which hampers our progress, that we ensure qualitatively higher efficiency in our economy, that we use more thoroughly the material potential at our disposal, and first and foremost, that we create the conditions for full development of the creative abilities of our people.

It cannot be denied that the working class, in alliance with cooperative farmers and socialist intelligentsia, under the leadership of the CPCZ, have managed even in the new conditions, to find the correct policies to resolve this situation in the interest and for the benefit of socialism and our people. This is seen in the strategy for the acceleration of socioeconomic development worked out by the 17th CPCZ Congress. At its follow-up sessions the CPCZ Central Committee, in the spirit of the resolution of the congress, comprehensively analyzed the situation in the individual spheres of society. They pointed to the unused potentials, moving forces, and trends in our country's further development.

Being creatively inspired by the new policy of the CPSU, at its 8th session in December 1987 it adopted the

program for all-society restructuring, which is supported by the vast majority of our citizens. We have elaborated it and we aim at its consistent implementation in Slovak conditions. It is directed at effectively utilizing the advantages of socialism and at creating the social relations and mechanisms which will impart a new dynamism to the development of the forces of production and which will create room for (?fuller) use of the spiritual potential, activity, and creativity of the people. This requires a further deepening of socialist democracy and the standard of information and open policy and for developing socialism in our country into a highly democratic and humane social system.

We perceive restructuring as a continuation of the socialist revolution, as a process of continuity and innovation, as a development of the revolutionary bequest of the Slovak national uprising, the May uprising of the Czech people, and the victorious February 1948.

Comrade, the rebel fighters entered their struggle convinced that it was impossible to give way to the problems and difficulties. They felt overcoming these was the test of the viability of the forces which commenced constructing a new, more just and happier world. This disciplined people's minds, multiplied all that was good, and evoked new and positive features in people. And today, too, we find ourselves in a situation which objectively requires us to consider the new tasks brought about by restructuring not only as a vital necessity, but also as a test of the political wisdom, responsibility, and moral maturity of all our citizens. Restructuring is a process with an upward trend; it is not a transient or superficial matter. It is the only path to raise socialism to a qualitatively new level in our country.

Our Communist Party was the initiator of restructuring in the CSSR. In this it once again proved the legitimacy of its leading role. However, it also bears a great responsibility for its successful implementation. The deep changes in individual spheres cannot be realized automatically by adopting appropriate resolutions and laws. It is the party bodies, primary party organizations, and each Communist that must head the struggle for new things and for overcoming routine approaches and old thinking in the struggle against centrifugal interests of various kinds. We must develop in a more resolute manner the political-educational and mass-political work, so that all fellow citizens devoted to socialism can contribute to mastering the tasks of restructuring all society.

In tackling the present tasks of social development we stand firmly on the soil of Marxism-Leninism.

We start from the dialectic essence of the unity of policy, economic, social, and spiritual development. We pay close attention to creating the economic base of social restructuring as the source for materially securing the advance of all spheres of social life.

Among important and pressing questions which we have to tackle decisively in Slovakia is to continue moving

toward an intensive type of economy, as targeted by the CPSL Congress of March 1986. To fulfill this revolutionary task a fearless approach to individual work places is needed with the awareness of socialist managers, as well as innovative ways to comprehensively resolve the tasks of this and the last year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

We must increase the efforts to implement the results of science and technology in the production sphere, cut costs, and avoid losses and low rentability. The decisive precondition for moving forward is also our wider integration in the international division of labor, deepening contacts with enterprises and organizations in the Soviet Union, especially in the Ukraine, and in other CEMA states.

The new stage of socialist economic integration as well as new conditions of external economic relations give new content to our present and future cooperation. Further possibilities are opening up in the form of production sharing in direct production relations and the establishment of joint work places and enterprises, the use of which is necessary in some places. This puts substantially higher demands on the entrepreneurial spirit, quality of production, and management skills as well as on consistently fulfilling undertakings.

Starting from these contacts, collectives in the sphere of the national economy are now working on preparing the guidelines for the development of the national economy during the Ninth 5-Year Plan. It is an important document which will contain development targets for Slovakia up to 1995. The principal requirement is to increase the productivity and efficiency of the economy. We want thus to increase our share in creating the CSSR's resources with the aim of better satisfying our citizens' needs. It will not be an easy or simple task. Many problems are still not fully solved. At present there is a need, jointly with the sections managed on the federal level, to work out programs for the development of structural changes in enterprises in Slovakia, following up the coordination of 5-year plans between the CSSR and the CEMA countries.

An important precondition for the implementation of these demanding tasks will be the quick adaptation of the entire economy as well as individual state enterprises to the operation of new economic tools, the quality of the whole economic mechanism and, above all, honest work of our people, of each of us.

We organically link the restructuring of economic mechanisms with deepening and broadening socialist democracy, with improving our political system, and with the growth of people's activity and initiative.

Comrade Milos Jakes stressed at the 9th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, quote: New quality in the development of society can be achieved only when the deepening of socialist democracy is based on fundamental changes of economy and when at the same time

the economy feels the stimulating influence of democratization, draws strength from the interest of workers as responsible managers, and from their collective personal interest in the best possible work results. It is the course aimed at strengthening the independence, initiative, and responsibility of state organs, national committees, and organizations of the National Front, unquote.

Ever since the Slovak national uprising, these truly democratic organs of people's power and administration on a local and district scale were revolutionary national committees. Under the leadership of the Communists, they were the power instruments of the people. They fulfilled roles of far-reaching significance. Indeed, they looked after all the spheres of life, after bread and ammunition, education, health care, transportation, and other needs of the citizens.

The activity of the revolutionary national committees has been developing in the years following liberation. What is important and inspiring is, above all, that these instruments of the political system have managed to involve in the solution of great social questions the broadest strata of the working people, all the components of the National Front. Today, too, we are seeking to fully involve our people, all the organs of the National Front, and the political parties and organizations united in it in the broad stream of the development of socialism and social restructuring. Without this, social restructuring would be a mere slogan; it would be trapped in duplicity.

The Slovak national uprising erected significant pillars of the new political system of the entire republic, firmly establishing its general validity, and concretely manifesting it. Also from the point of view of today's efforts, many ideas and democratic structures of the National Front, the socialist state, and people's power are being implemented and are developing on a qualitatively new and higher level and in new forms. What is involved is a principled deepening of the participation of the broad masses in the management and administration of state and public affairs, strengthening the jurisdiction and responsibility of the national committees and the National Front, promoting the consistent implementation of the principles of social justice, strengthening the unity of our peoples and nationalities, as well as the firm union of the Communist Party and all the people.

The future development of these principles, which nobody gave to us but which were won in difficult class struggles, must continue to be at the center of attention of all the activity of our Communist Party, socialist state, and the entire National Front.

Today too, we are turning in this spirit to the young generation. Just as during the Slovak national uprising, when young people carried on their shoulders a great weight of struggling for a more just future, today too, a new generational task is in front of them: By means of

their youthful energy, enthusiasm, and art, they must strive to uplift our society to a qualitatively higher degree of development.

We must take an active share in implementing restructuring and democratization—aims which constitute the political program of the Communist Party at the moment. However, this can be implemented only by young people who have healthy opinion of themselves, who, with deep conviction and unhypercritical patriotic love and devotion, will help our party and society.

This is all the more important when, with increasing social restructuring and deepening socialist democracy, the activity of forces whose political orientation is outside the domain of socialism is increasing. To achieve their aims they also want to misuse our young people. As in many times in the past, today too they are trying, by means of some political circles abroad and by means of mass propaganda and information, to create social tension and to exert pressure in various ways to destabilize the situation.

Attempts to encroach upon public order and to incite our people were manifested in the attempt to organize a provocative demonstration in Prague on 21 August. We resolutely reject the activities of illegal groups and individuals and so-called tourists from Hungary, Poland, Italy, and some other countries. This undermines the patriotic feelings and dignity of our peoples. [applause]

At the same time we are of the opinion that good-neighborly relations and a spirit of mutual trust, respect, and understanding are not to be built in the way constantly demonstrated by a number of foreign political editors of Hungarian television, and especially on the Panorama program. [applause] They must realize that Czechoslovak history was created and is now being created solely by our people, through their courageous work in implementing restructuring. [applause]

Political opponents, using demagoguery, distorting facts, and using methods of psychological warfare, are trying to manipulate public opinion. They are also exploiting our problems and shortcomings about which we are talking openly and which we are honestly solving and want to tackle. They are particularly trying to misuse the natural lack of experience of young people. They do not even shy away from threats of terror and intimidation. These are dangerous attempts that we resolutely reject, inasmuch as they sharply contradict the interest of the people, our nations and nationalities, as well as their internationalist thinking and feeling. One cannot allow the process of restructuring to be destroyed and democratization misused against the party and socialism, to disturb public order and the peaceful and brave work and lives of the people. [applause] Peace, creative work, and harmony of life represent a natural picture for the existence of individuals and the society.

Comrades, freedom, peace, and creative work for the flourishing of our homeland are the most precious values. Thanks to the unrelenting effort of the socialist

countries, above all the USSR, Europe—a continent on whose territory the two most terrible wars in human history were unleashed—has now been a continent of peace for almost 45 years. The process of positive changes in the international political arena is currently acquiring qualitatively new dimensions. The peace policy and new political thinking in international relations, which were formulated and are being enterprisingly implemented by the land of the Soviets, are bringing significant new successes.

Political relaxation is being accompanied by military relaxation, by actual disarmament steps. Together with peace-loving and progressive people all over the world, we sincerely welcome and support the reduction of military potentials of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. We are making all-around efforts to set up a zone of trust and good-neighborly relations along the line where they adjoin. We hope these processes might be irreversible and that they might develop faster.

At the same time, we fully understand that the struggle to preserve peace is not easy or short-term. Imperialist forces are still active. They do not want to come to terms with international reality, and therefore they continue to think and act in the spirit of social revanchism, hegemony, and political rule. If they want to negotiate, they want to negotiate from a position of strength. That is why we are actively deepening cooperation within the Warsaw Pact and exerting more efforts for the growth of the potential and the example of socialism as a decisive factor of progress and peace. Socialism and peace continue to constitute inseparable, decisive motivating forces for international political development.

We must not allow material and spiritual values, which were created by entire generations, and in the long run our most precious possession—life on our blue planet—be destroyed by a worldwide holocaust of nuclear war. It is in this spirit that we continue to cultivate the spirit of responsibility. We all must be active co-creators, building and strengthening the comprehensive system of international peace and security for the current and future generations.

Esteemed comrades, the Slovak national uprising has entered history as a unique and unrepeatedly historical event. Its heritage is being reflected in the continuity of significant historical events in the modern history of our peoples. That is why we are returning to it, in connection with such revolutionary milestones of our history as the May uprising of the Czech people, the liberalization of our homeland by the Soviet Army, February 1948, the nationalization and socialization of agriculture, the legalization of the federative arrangement of our republic.

The Slovak national uprising is a part of the largest and the most beautiful traditions of our people. At the moment, when our entire Czechoslovak society is solving new demanding tasks, we turn anew to this

tradition, above all, to draw new strength and determination which will be reflected in the further development of labor and social activity, in new successes in the preparation of the 18th CPCZ Congress, the CPSL Congress, the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army, in implementing the restructuring of the entire society.

Glory to the warriors and participants in the Slovak national uprising! Eternal memory to all those who laid down their lives for freedom and new Czechoslovakia! [applause]

Thanks to the CPSU and the Soviet people for our liberation, for our socialist presence! Let the successes of the CPSU and the Soviet people multiply—successes along the path of improving the renewal of the Soviet socialist society in the interests of socialism and peace. [applause]

Long live the CPCZ, leading force in the struggle of our people for freedom, as well as our present effort to elevate socialism to a higher level for the benefit of our working people! Long live socialism and peace! [applause]

Honecker Absent From People's Chamber Session

LD0109102989 Hamburg DPA in German
0946 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR People's Chamber met for an extraordinary session on Friday in East Berlin, without the apparently seriously ill state and party chief Erich Honecker, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the commencement of World War II. [passage omitted]

DPA Reports Honecker 'Too Ill' To Open Fair

LD3108120589 Hamburg DPA in German
1127 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR state and party head Erich Honecker (77), is too ill to open the Leipzig Autumn Fair. For this reason Premier Willi Stoph will undertake the traditional fair walkabout this coming Sunday [1 September], it became known today in East Berlin. It is reported that his recovery from a gall bladder operation is progressing more slowly than originally assumed. On the other hand, the GDR Foreign Ministry repeatedly responds to official enquiries from correspondents by saying that Honecker continues to be on the path to recovery.

Rumors that Honecker is dangerously ill are not being confirmed in East Berlin. Western security circles reported on Wednesday that an inoperable situation had been discovered during the State Council chairman's most recent gall bladder operation. There was no confirmation of this. It became further known, however, that he is supposedly still in the hospital. [passage omitted]

Hungary's Horn Arrives on 'Surprise' Visit

LD3108163389 Budapest MTI in English
1406 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Berlin, August 31 (MTI)—MTI's correspondent Laszlo Drogman reports:

At noon on Thursday, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn made a surprise visit to the GDR capital. From Schoenefeld Airport, he went straight to the Foreign Ministry for talks with ministry officials.

The GDR media gave no indication of Mr Horn's arrival and his negotiating partners, but reliable sources say one of them is Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, and Guenter Mittag, secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, may be another.

Discusses Refugees With Fischer

LD3108165589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1617 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Friendly talks took place today in Berlin between Oskar Fischer and Gyula Horn, ministers of foreign affairs of the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic. During these talks the ministers

exchanged opinions on issues concerning GDR-Hungarian People's Republic relations.

In the talks reference was made to the long-standing friendly solidarity and cooperation between the GDR and Hungary, which is developing well on the basis of the treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual support. The 4 decades of close cooperation have been filled with a multitude of joint and successful efforts to safeguard peace and to strengthen socialism. A close network of relations between the two sides exists. The long-term program up to the year 2000 is a solid basis for future economic and scientific-technological cooperation.

Oskar Fischer stated that some vacation traffic problems have arisen because the FRG permits GDR citizens to stay in their diplomatic missions, and illegally gives FRG passports to GDR citizens with reference to its so-called obligation to take care of all Germans, thereby disregarding citizenship of the GDR.

The GDR side pointed out that there is an increasing conviction that attempts to force emigration possibilities by means of the diplomatic missions of other states are not feasible. Oskar Fischer stressed that all attempts to effect emigration through staying in FRG diplomatic missions or camps supervised by the FRG are unacceptable, because the legal regulations of the GDR are equally binding on all its citizens.

In conclusion, the foreign minister stated that the GDR regards as particularly important the cultivation and further deepening of close, friendly relations and the wide-ranging direct contacts as well as the exchange of views and experience. It is guided by the principle that all problems can be solved on the basis of tried and tested principles to the benefit of both states and peoples, while taking into account their mutual interests.

MTI Cites Meeting

LD3108222189 Budapest MTI in English
1936 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, paid a visit to Berlin at the initiative of the GDR Government on Thursday [31 August].

He held talks with Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs, and Gunter Mittag, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and secretary of the Central Committee.

The Berlin visit was an integral part of the constant efforts made by Hungarian diplomacy to find a solution satisfactory for all parties involved in the affair of GDR citizens in Hungary wishing to resettle in the FRG.

In reply to the GDR position as put forward in the course of the Berlin talks, Mr Horn stressed that the Hungarian Government expected the settlement of the issue from an agreement between the two German states.

He also stressed that Hungary wishes settlement in accordance with the international human rights responsibilities of the Hungarian People's Republic and its humanitarian political practice. In the spirit of the above conditions, Mr Horn briefed the GDR side on the planned Hungarian measures aimed to bring rapid solution.

The negotiating sides have agreed on continuing bilateral consultation.

Defense Cuts Implemented; Squadron Ends Flights

LD3108143189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1125 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Excerpt] On Thursday [31 August] fighter planes involved in pilot training took off for the last time at the "Wilhelm Peck" flying squadron of the GDR's National People's Army [NVA]. The squadron will be dissolved this year in accordance with the GDR National Defense Council decision, announced by Erich Honecker, to unilaterally and independently of negotiations reduce the NVA by 10,000 men, 600 tanks, and 50 aircraft and to lower national defense costs by 10 percent.

The decision stipulates that these cuts become effective by 1990. [passage omitted]

FRG Daily Publishes Plan To Establish SPD

AU3108163789 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 31 Aug 89 p 4

[Text of paper by activists' group for founding a Social Democratic Party in the GDR: "An Alternative for Our Country"]

[Text] At the periphery of a seminar on human rights in East Berlin in late July, an activists' group emerged with the objective to found an SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] in the GDR. The paper, which has now reached the West, given to FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, and which leaves out the names of the authors and some points of the program at the end of the text, reads as follows:

1. A few things have started to move in East Europe, and many here feel great sympathy for it. Hope and expectations begin to grow even in the GDR. Many citizens's self-assurance has been boosted. Nevertheless, one has to note that generally, the situation continues to be dominated by a paralyzing feeling of impotence. This was reflected, for example, by the people's desire and hope for change, but at the same time by their feeling that they cannot do anything themselves.

This is why many people are waiting for the ruling party to change or for the appearance of a man comparable to Gorbachev. However, such an attitude is very passive and ultimately expresses the feeling that one is not competent and responsible for this reality, which is our

reality. Yet, even if the party were to change, we would still need citizens who independently become aware of their responsibility for our reality and who are ready to accept this responsibility. Time is short—and not only because impatience is growing. As long as nothing fundamental is done against the contradictions and negative developments in our country, more and more things will be irretrievably lost.

The tens of thousands who are disappointed and have left the country can no longer do anything in this respect and they even increase the resignation of those that are left behind.

All natural living conditions and resources that have been used up or destroyed can only be recuperated with great difficulty. We are living on our capital and thus at the expense of our children. We are losing more and more riches of our historical heritage and thus our identity.

The structures of organized irresponsibility are destroying the moral basis and the readiness to accept risks for responsible actions in society and state. Today we need the fundamental efforts by many people to create the prerequisites and conditions necessary for the process of democratization.

2. Our society is dominated by the SED's [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] absolute claim to truth and power, which determines all conditions in our state and society.

However, the gap between the ideological claim and reality is becoming more and more obvious.

The necessary democratization of our country requires that we fundamentally challenge such absolute claims to truth and power. This includes also an open intellectual discussion of the bases of Stalinism and its effects on the GDR now and in the past.

3. The democratization of our country requires fundamental programmatic efforts and such citizens that have or acquire the necessary competence. This causes a particularly difficult problem because it was the objective of the SED during decades of cadre policy to prevent intellectual and political competence from developing outside the circle of people that were prepared to declare their loyalty.

In view of this situation, we consider it necessary to make the following efforts:

a) To work out a political alternative for our country, which revives political traditions guided by democracy and social justice. Socialism plays a very important role in these traditions. The history of the past few decades has widely discredited socialism. Considering the current situation in the socialist camp it is simply no longer possible to say what economic and political structures correspond to the visions of socialism.

To seek new paths in this respect, it is necessary to draw up a merciless balance sheet of the intellectual, political, economic, and ecologic situation of our country.

b) To create and develop political publicity, in which the intellectual, economic, social, and political objectives and future roads for our country can be discussed. It is important to strengthen the citizens' feeling of responsibility and competence concerning the conditions of our country, to arouse this feeling and to encourage people to acquire competence and to actively contribute toward shaping social reality.

We need citizens who are willing and able to control and exercise political power in a democratic public body, and who responsibly create their lives in society.

4. Political existence and political actions require the community and democratic forms of organization, in which those who are incorporated in them can develop and fully express their interests and their political will. There are several possibilities in this respect: associations, action committees, democratic movements, parties, trade unions, etc. A democratic community is impossible without such political organizations.

Considering that currently our country's political parties and organizations are unable to fulfill this task, it is necessary to develop these possibilities and to establish new bodies.

5. We, the signatories, consider the foundation of a social democratic party for the future of our society necessary. We know that we cannot do this in a legal way at the moment. This is why we propose the formation of an activists' group to create the conditions for the legal foundation of this party.

6. Our objective is a social democracy guided by ecological principles.

The basic principle of democratic renewal are the demonopolization and democratization of power in our state and society. This does not mean the dissolution of the state and its monopoly to power, but a democratic control of the individual state institutions that have clearly defined responsibilities. This makes it necessary to differentiate as clearly as possible between state and society and to have the adequate structures in the setup of the state, that is to say to split up the state in independent and responsible substructures.

The state has the duty:

- to provide social, cultural, and political basic rights for the citizens; to strengthen and protect these rights; and to ensure that the citizens can apply them;
- to guarantee the protection of the natural environment, and to secure the resources and living conditions for future generations.

All monopolistic developments in our state and society have to be opposed whenever they restrict or pervert the

citizens' social and political rights. For the economy this means, among other things, that demonopolization (including in the state sector) has to be strictly observed. Unavoidable monopolies must be submitted to a very strict democratic control and their economic efficiency must be examined.

Krolikowski on 'Remarkable' Agricultural Results

AU3108114589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 29 Aug 89 p 3

[Report by Hans-Joerg Gloede and Adolf Sturzbecher on the concluding speech given by Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at a conference of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences in Berlin on 28 August: "Important Contribution to the GDR's Stable Development"]

[Excerpts] Productivity and efficient crop production is decisive for the development of livestock production on a domestic fodder basis and for stable supplies of foodstuffs to the population and raw materials to industry. Werner Krolikowski stressed in his concluding speech. Therefore, it must be developed more quickly than livestock production. "At the same time, this strongly determines the contribution of our branch to the national income," he said. It is necessary to achieve—through the application of science and technology to crop production—an above-average increase in yield compared with past results and to stock necessary seeds and fodder. "Basically, this involves an important contribution by our branch to the political, economic, and social stability and dynamism of our state's national economy and the further strengthening of socialism in the colors of the GDR." [passage omitted]

Referring to field cultivation and crop production results, the Politburo member pointed to this year's grain harvest, which, with 10.9 million tonnes and a per-hectare yield of 43.8 decitonnes, has achieved remarkable results and constitutes a great political success, despite the fact that the drought, which goes back to 1988, increased in 1989. This confirms that the agricultural and alliance policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is correct and agricultural science is well suited to turn our agriculture into a branch of applied science, Krolikowski said.

Intensification of Rye Production

Then the speaker discussed the reserves for increasing the yield of all crops. "With the cultivation of winter grain, we now particularly want to do everything so that in the year of the 12th SED Congress, 12 million tonnes of grain can be harvested," Werner Krolikowski said. [passage omitted]

The intensification of rye production is particularly important for the further increase of grain output. For this purpose, the growers of grain should make an essential contribution by quickly providing high-capacity hybrid strains that provide clearly more yield.

Reserves can also be found in an increase of mechanical cultivation in grain growing and in observing optimum seeding periods, Krolikowski noted.

In sugar beet production, it is necessary to achieve a lasting change in yields and efficiency. For this purpose, it is necessary to take the differentiated natural and economic production conditions into even better consideration. [passage omitted]

In potato production, the focal issues can also be found in exploiting the usable yield potential as well as in a higher quality of potatoes for market, seed potatoes, and potatoes for grafting [Veredelungskartoffeln]. In this way, 50,000 hectares of land previously used for market potatoes could be freed for grain, which would correspond to 250,000 tonnes of grain.

More than one-third of the arable land in the GDR is used as meadow and pasture or in growing forage for the supply of cattle and sheep with coarse fodder. Werner Krolikowski drew the attention of the conference participants to the fact that both the quantity and the quality of these harvested crops have to be considerably increased. Unfortunately, the goal that has been set—to produce 80 percent of coarse fodder in quality I and II—has not yet been reached. It is necessary to accelerate the intensification of this important area of crop production. Agricultural research is aiming at new goals. It is envisaged raising by 1995 the per-hectare yield of field forage by 61 decitonnes over the 1986-88 average, green and silage corn by 68 decitonnes, and meadows and pastures by 15 decitonnes.

Use of Computers in Greenhouses

Then the speaker referred to the intensification of the production of fruit and vegetables. A wide range of these products is required for healthy nutrition. The application scientific- technological progress is indispensable for this, Krolikowski pointed out. [passage omitted]

The speaker said that crop breeding and breeding research have an essential influence on accelerated intensification. The fact that in 1988-89, there were a total of 59 new high-yield strains of grain, sugar beet, fodder crops, fruit, and vegetables is quite remarkable. [passage omitted]

Referring to future tasks, the speaker pointed out that now scientific results have to be successfully applied all over the country. The largest reserves could be tapped if the agricultural producer cooperatives and the state-owned farms, which are currently performing averagely despite good conditions, were brought to the level of the best enterprises. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Werner Krolikowski stressed: United in will and action to do everything to strengthen socialism and safeguard peace through top performances in agricultural science and in our agriculture, this meeting provides important new stimuli to all of us for the preparation of the 12th SED Congress.

FRG 'Soccer Hooligans' Damage FRG Train in GDR

AU3008133489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 29 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Transit Traffic Interrupted by Soccer Hooligans from West Berlin"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Saturday night to Sunday morning [26-2 August], soccer hooligans from West Berlin disturbed the railroad transit traffic between the FRG and West Berlin. In the D-349 Cologne-Berlin Friedrichstrasse train they destroyed a restaurant car and several compartments in other cars of the FRG train. Other passengers and railroad staff were harassed. The rowdies stopped the train in an irresponsible manner several times on GDR territory by pulling the emergency brake, thus causing a 2-hour delay of the D-349.

Foreign Minister Horn Departs for East Berlin

*LD3108103789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] As we have learned at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, about 1 hour ago Foreign Minister Gyula Horn left for Berlin to hold negotiations with the GDR leaders about—at least I presume—the case of East Germans in Hungary who wish to settle in the FRG. His visit had not been announced in advance, and we only learned about the recent lightning visit to the FRG by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Gyula Horn after the fact.

Nor do we know yet at what level Gyula Horn will negotiate in Berlin, but it seems obvious that he will meet his partner, Foreign Minister Oscar Fischer.

Council of Ministers To Discuss Refugees' Status

*LD3108112689 Budapest MTI in English
1014 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—The procedure for declaring someone a refugee and a provision on the legal status of refugees is expected to feature on the agenda of today's Council of Ministers session, runs an article in the Thursday issue of the Hungarian newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP.

Hungary became a signatory to the Geneva Convention on refugees and the related New York protocol in spring of this year. These documents call for the legal regulation of fundamental questions of the refugees issue.

However, this question is not merely a theoretical deliberation, but a pressing reality: At present, there are 17,000 Romanian refugees in Hungary, and the stream of new ones is far from drying up. Their legal status is as yet unresolved, and the same applies to the escalating number of people from the GDR arriving in Hungary.

The legal regulation will take quite some time to prepare in view of the political coordination talks needed to solve this issue. As a consequence, a temporary government decree is expected to be introduced which will at least regulate the basic procedures, the article in MAGYAR HIRLAP concludes.

The government is also considering setting up a refugee bureau in keeping with international practice.

Justice Ministry Official on Refugee Solution

*LD3108211789 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Report by Correspondent Gyorgy Bernath in Bonn]

[Text] (Peter Timaranszki), department head at the Justice Ministry, has given a statement to Deutschlandfunk which, according to sources in Bonn, could be a possible solution to the issue of the GDR emigres.

In accordance with the agreement between Hungary and the International Red Cross, the organization not only can provide food for the refugees, but can also help them in other ways, the department chief said. Thus, Hungary also has to allow the Red Cross to prepare travel documents for them. Therefore, the Red Cross has to make a decision this for itself, but if it does decide on this, Hungary could not object.

In Bonn, the conclusion was drawn from the statement by the Justice Ministry department head that the timetable for the solution to the issue was complete; the GDR citizens could leave Hungary with the passports from the Red Cross. A report from Vienna says that the Austrian Government, acting from humanitarian considerations, is willing to modify its practice regarding visas; they do not demand entry visas from GDR citizens arriving from Hungary.

The Bonn government, also according to Vienna sources, has requested that the Austrian railway put together by 6 September a train consisting of 50 carriages, which should be located near the Hungarian border. According to the transport company's own statement, it is prepared to set up this train even earlier, if necessary, within 6 hours of notification. Its final destination would be one of the refugee camps that have been or are being hastily constructed in Bavaria.

How much truth there is in this combination only events will tell, but the fact that something has spread among the GDR citizens staying in Hungary is proved by the fact that instead of the customary 200-250 people, only 40 applied after their escape at the FRG Embassy in Vienna on Wednesday.

The rest, presumably, are waiting until the final outlines of some sort of increasingly urgent solution appear.

SDP's Voigt on GDR Refugees, Budapest Meeting

*LD0109100889 Budapest MTI in English
0749 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] Bonn, September 1 (MTI)—The GDR citizens in Hungary who wish to resettle in the FRG instead of going home will be allowed to leave the country in a very short time. This was the information received by Karsten Voigt, member of the SDP [Social Democratic Party of Germany] Presidium and foreign political spokesman for the SDP group in Parliament, in the course of his negotiations in Budapest. The distinguished politician met Rezo Nyers, president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and Hungarian Foreign Ministry officials. He gave an interview to ZDF broadcasting service on Thursday night. He said that the international humanitarian organizations, such as the Red Cross, assist the departure of GDR citizens.

GDR citizens will be allowed to retain their properties, in other words, they can either take their things with themselves or sell them in Hungary.

It was seen as a promising sign in Budapest that although not supporting, the GDR has not taken any countermeasures against the above action.

UN To Open Refugee Office in Budapest in Oct

*AU3108191389 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 1600 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Report by Armin Wolf]

[Text] In October of this year, the UN refugee organization will open an office in Budapest. This was announced today by Klaus Feldmann, director of the Vienna [UN High Commissioner's] Office for Refugees. Setting up the new branch has become possible because Hungary, the first Warsaw Pact country to do so, recently signed the 1951 International Convention on Refugees.

However, the Budapest government has so far not adopted the necessary domestic laws to really put the convention into force. In particular, the regulations for a regular asylum procedure have not yet been concluded. Once these are introduced, any foreigner can apply for asylum in Hungary. Emigrants from Romania are expected to particularly benefit from this regulation. According to Feldmann, some 17,000-20,000 Romanian emigrants are currently staying in Hungary. Even GDR and CSSR citizens will then be able to apply for asylum in Hungary.

For the cost of setting up the UN office, which is to provide help for these people, some 75 million schillings are still needed, which are to be provided by the UN member states within a short time, Feldmann concluded.

Hungary Withdraws Additional Border Guards

*LD3108191789 Hamburg DPA in German
1835 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest/Bonn (DPA)—On 31 August, Hungary withdrew the workers militia units it had stationed on the Austrian border a few days ago in support of the border guards. DPA received this news from a reliable source. Following the deployment of the workers militia, the number of GDR refugees entering Austria fell sharply. It was also said in Budapest that the number of GDR citizens illegally coming to Hungary from Czechoslovakia has now risen to between 30 and 40 a day.

The Foreign Office in Bonn meanwhile confirmed that the head of the office's central department, Permanent Secretary Michael Jansen, is in Budapest for talks with the Hungarian Government about the problem of the GDR refugees.

Fewer GDR Hungary-Austria Border Crossers

*LD0109100489 Hamburg DPA in German
0858 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] Vienna (DPA)—With their sights set on expected legal mass entry into the Federal Republic, fewer and

fewer GDR citizens are fleeing from Hungary to Austria. In response to inquiries, a spokesman for the Austrian Interior Ministry said on Thursday night that refugees had "still" been illegally crossing the green border [gruene grenze] to Austria, "but considerably fewer than in recent days." The spokesman was not prepared to give an exact figure, but talked of "still a few dozen." In the days beforehand, there had often been several hundred fleeing from Hungary to Austria.

Spokesman on Refugee Problem, Dam Project

*LD3108195689 Budapest MTI in English
1740 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—Only people from European countries who are subject to or may fear persecution in their own countries on racial, religious or ethnic grounds may apply for a refugee status in Hungary. This concept will be enshrined in the legal decree soon to be submitted to the Presidential Council, the draft of which is being discussed by the government. At the same time, the governmental decree on the legal status of refugees which is to enter effect simultaneously with the legal decree is being surveyed. According to the draft of the provision, people should apply for the refugee status within 72 hours after crossing the border, and the status will be granted together with Hungarian citizenship. (The handling of refugees will be regulated by the law on immigration under way.)

At the press briefing following the government session, the spokesman said that in July, 1,600 refugees arrived from Romania to Hungary, with a growing number of non-Hungarian nationals. Only 50 percent of the 18,000 Romanian refugees in Hungary are of Hungarian nationality, while 40 percent are Romanian and 10 percent Saxon.

Despite the August 30 demonstration of the uranium miners of Pecs, the government is determined to implement the original plan of cutting the approximately 3,000 million forint subsidy to Mecsek ore mining together with the closure of uranium mines. There are calls for further consultations as well as compensation for the miners and the industrial restructuring of the region.

In answer to a question, Zsolt Bajnok, spokesman, expressed the hope that the Czechoslovak Government will not decide to continue the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros dam project and the related rechanneling of the Danube on Czechoslovak territory (some 12 kilometres above Dunakiliti), as it would violate the state contract of the two countries, and set off grave legal international conflicts.

MSZMP Central Committee To Convene 1 Sep

*LD3108213489 Budapest MTI in English
1755 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—The Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers'

Party [MSZMP] convened the session of the Central Committee for September 1. The body proposes that the Central Committee should hear a report on the positions represented at the trilateral interest coordinating talks. The agenda of the Central Committee will include the draft laws providing the legal framework for the peaceful political transition, such as the laws on the new constitution, the operation of parties, the economy, and proposals on parliamentary elections. The body is also to be briefed on the preparations for the party congress to open on October 6th.

Session Begins

LD0109082889 Budapest MTI in English
0730 GMT 1 Sep

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] has started its session. At the recommendation of the Political Executive Committee, the body will hear a report on the experience of and positions passed at the trilateral political coordinating talks. The agenda of the Central Committee includes a debate on the bills that provide the legal framework for the peaceful transition; the modification of the constitution, the law on the operation and economy of parties, and the proposals related to the parliamentary elections. The body is also to hear a report on the arrangements for the party congress to open on October 6th.

Vastagh on Reform

LD0109105389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0500 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] We have asked Pal Vastagh, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) Political Executive Committee, about today's session of the Central Committee and the nationwide consultation of the reform circles over the weekend.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] One of the greatest and most passionate debates of the past few days is whether the MSZMP should be present at the workplaces—that is, whether it should preserve its position. Will this question be on the agenda?

[Vastagh] Naturally it will be on the agenda, since this is part of the whole restructuring, it is a fundamental element of party law. We have to discuss this by all means; all the more so because this occupies hundreds of thousands of the party members.

[Reporter] Could there be a final decision?

[Vastagh] I trust that there will be one.

[Reporter] Many people consider that the renewal of the MSZMP is a national question of vital importance, and Imre Pozsgay and Rezső Nyers could have decisive roles in this renewal. A possible conflict between the two reform party politicians could reduce the chances of a national resurgence.

[Vastagh] I do not think that the fact that conflicts occur in connection with certain tactical questions during this extraordinarily fierce and animated political fight would in itself call into question the existing unity in strategic endeavors.

[Reporter] It is well known that the party members grouped in the reform circles within the MSZMP are rather polarized when formulating plans for the future of the party. In plain language, they say that if the congress does not bring a breakthrough—that is, if the reform forces do not succeed in gaining victory with reforming ideas—then they will leave the party and will form a new party of a socialist type.

[Vastagh] I think that today, within the MSZMP there is every possibility and chance that the reform wing and the reform forces will be able to change the face of the MSZMP according to their own political ideas. I feel that there is a contradiction in the fact that people who are willing to act leave the party at a time when the best chances for active work present themselves. Thus, I see an enormous chance now for the reform idea to be permanently victorious in the MSZMP.

State Security Chief Interviewed on Tasks

AU3108145289 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 29 Aug 89 p 5

[Interview with Major General Ferenc Pallagi, head of the Hungarian state security services, by Peter Balla: "God, Give Me Enough Wisdom—Who Is Being Followed by the Security Services?"—date, place not given]

[Text] A recent statement published in MOSCOVKSOE NOVOSTIY has caused a great sensation. KGB Chief Vladimir Kryuchkov announced that the Soviet state security organs would no longer fight ideas.

When we were preparing for this interview with Ferenc Pallagi, this concept had already appeared in this form.

The Hungarian secret service is made up of five main departments. Basically, nobody questions the need for intelligence, military intelligence, and counterintelligence work. The activities of the internal security service and of the technical main department which applies secret service methods occasionally affect a citizen's basic rights. It does no harm to know a little more about this "mysterious" area before the appearance of legislation governing it. We have already interviewed Major General József Horváth, head of a department, about the reorganization of the internal security service. In the future, we would also like to interview Colonel Tibor Agoston, head of the technical department.

We Also Fooled Ourselves

[Balla] To what extent did internal, antireactionary intelligence—or internal counterintelligence, as it was called from 1962—depend on the political demands of

the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]? Were you commissioned to do things, and how did you fulfill these "expectations?"

[Pallagi] It is very difficult to evaluate the extent to which this organization served the policy of a one-party system. Of course, there were "commissions." Information that reached the high party echelons was forwarded to the leadership of the ministry. Then the ministry gave us instructions. We collected the information and forwarded it, but we did not know the real consequences of all this. I would like to add that these specific "commissions" made up only a fraction of our activity. Everything that naturally followed from the security model itself was much more important. From the outset, a hierarchy determined the nature of the dangers threatening our society. Our organizations must have lost direction because of the Stalinist model, the prevailing foreign policy situation, and the higher echelons' evaluation of the prevailing political situation. Obviously, we also fooled ourselves by forcing ourselves to believe that these suspects in these cases were really involved in criminal violations of the law. We have never committed a direct violation of the law. In cases where suspicions were not justified, we never tried to prove the opposite and back up our concept.

[Balla] What has characterized the activity of internal counterintelligence since 1962?

[Pallagi] As far back as 1970, a ministerial order forbade us to deal with views, ideas, and organizations. In 1974 a new regulation concerning the state and public security emerged, but this has never been made public. A principle was already valid, whereby we should deal only with those who violate the law and only on the basis of facts that justify legal investigation. However, we failed in our attempt to break away from the Stalinist model. This was partly due to the first signs of a general international decrease in the momentum of the socialist model. I refer here to Charter 77 and the activation of other opposition groups in the USSR and Poland. The end of the sixties saw the emergence of sectarian and dogmatic trends in Hungary. These trends envisaged an Albanian or Chinese model for a solution, but these ideas had been abandoned by the end of the seventies. The start of another type of accumulation of conflicts came with the Hungarian signatories of Charter 77. The last clearly political trial took place after the publication of Miklos Haraszti's book "Darabber [Piece-work Wages]." At that time, a law banned any propaganda against the regime, including Samizdat activity.

[Balla] Did you believe in the efficiency of hunting down the "banned literature?"

[Pallagi] Being a military organization, the orders were an obligation for us. At first, we acted firmly against Samizdat, but later in an increasingly mild way. Generally, our activity consisted of seizure and confiscation of a few thousand issues, followed by criminal proceedings. However, anyone who wanted to know the content of

these publications could still find one. As to the present situation, the issue and dissemination of fascist publications continues to be banned. On the other hand, we regard the various political views and criticism as part of the self-assertion of our society.

Legal Integrity

[Balla] Concerning the future, has there been consideration of a new task, following the Western model, to gather information that would exclude the possibility of having alcoholics, gamblers, or paranoiacs in certain high-ranking state positions?

[Pallagi] So far, our model has been that a certain circle of leaders have been axiomatically considered to be morally irreproachable. However, facts increasingly show that, together with other illusions, we should also eliminate this approach. Of course, this is a matter of legislation. If such legislation is applied, with public life that is more unimpeachable, the taxpayer would be sure that these high-ranking positions are really filled by morally irreproachable people.

[Balla] Do you provide the MSZMP with general information or situation analysis? With the introduction of a multiparty system, this will question the right to equal opportunities....

[Pallagi] With the elimination of party guidance, our service has essentially become neutral with regard to any organization. Previously, we supplied situation analysis to the MSZMP Politburo, but today they can no longer ask for such an analysis and they do not receive such information from us. This is the exclusive right of the prevailing legitimate state leaders.

[Balla] Earlier, you also collected information about people who, in those times, were regarded as the opposition. Today, the very same people are heads and prominent members of legal organizations. Are there still dossiers left in the safes?

[Pallagi] It may sound incredible, but no such documents or computer data have been left over. We do not have any information about any member of a legitimate organization or association (irrespective of the fact that there is not yet a party law in force.) We did not keep records, so we have nothing to come up with.... Of course, this does not refer to people who oppose a future constitutional order, like neofascists, for example.

[Balla] If a report reaches you, what happens to it?

[Pallagi] I will start by saying that we have never dealt with anonymous reports. If a signed report reaches us and it proves to be lacking any justification, no traces of this report will remain. However, if it seems to be justified, our operative officer consults first with the legal expert. At this stage, no special intelligence methods whatsoever can be applied. We examine first the authenticity and objectivity of a report.

The Chief Supplication

[Balla] What happens if the examination "passes" this stage?

[Pallagi] In order to show how many interim stations exist, I will say that, in this office, I am the fifth "step." Anyone before me can halt the machinery. If I approve the use of intelligence methods, I forward the case to the deputy minister in charge. Depending on his decision, the case goes to the main technical department. Independently, the people here could come to the conclusion that there is no need for telephone surveillance, for example. If you are interested in the details of applying intelligence methods and their forms, including their costs, you should ask the head of the technical department about this. I will add here that a society in self defense could demand the use of such special methods in every country in the world.

[Balla] Elections are coming. Can the internal security service interfere in these elections?

[Pallagi] Our staff should deal exclusively with the legality and security of elections. For example, if we get information about a terrorist act directed against any of the parties, we must act. Of course, we also vote. Given our activity, we vote for the state and the constitutional order. Irrespective of this, it is the right of every one of our staff members to support any party, as a private person. Besides, we are thinking of eliminating political activity in our office. An open and civilized, European-minded individual—the type of person needed by our service—is able to "renew" himself. I draw the attention of my colleagues to the words of a bishop from the Middle Ages: "God, give me enough power to change things that can be changed. God, give me enough modesty to bear things that cannot be changed. And finally: God, give me proper internal wisdom to be able to always differentiate correctly between the two." Someone who does not understand this over the long term, must leave the service.

MP's Put Forward Proposal on Troop Withdrawal

LD3108195189 Budapest MTI in English
1714 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—Zoltan Kiraly, MP, put forward a proposal on the total withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in European countries. The proposal calls on the former allies and the countries involved, or the foreign ministers of states that have signed the Helsinki Final Act, to start talks as early as in 1989 in Budapest or West-Berlin in order to achieve that all foreign troops stationed in European countries pull out by 1995. At the same time, NATO and Warsaw Treaty member states should declare the abolition of the two military blocs.

The proposal was read out by Mr Kiraly in Parliament on Thursday. He said the withdrawal of Soviet troops

stationed in Hungary could only be realized through an all-European settlement of the issue.

At the press briefing, the setting up of an opposition group, also proposed by Zoltan Kiraly, was announced, with its members including the three MPs who were recently elected—Gabor Roszik, Jozsef Debreczeni, Erno Raffay—and Gyorgy Banffy.

Mr Kiraly said the activity of the opposition group would not imply a general parliamentary representation of the Opposition Roundtable.

Gabor Roszik added: The three MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] members who gained mandates at the by-elections do not wish to be spokesmen for the Hungarian Democratic Forum in parliament. Erno Raffay claims that opposition MPs should act on behalf of all opposition political forces against their common opponent of communist power.

The MDF-member MPs think no agreement is conceivable between the MDF and the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] reform wing and cannot imagine the two political forces entering coalition after the elections.

Grosz Comments on Party 'Disruption'

LD3108222389 Budapest MTI in English
2010 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—Narrow-minded personal disputes and the reluctance to agree on the basic questions caused the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] to show signs of disruption instead of unity. The short-term consequence of division might be the loss of power, later leading to a change of system. Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, said at the session of the Nograd County party committee on Thursday.

There is a great confusion in connection with the concept of Europeanism, he added. In terms of spiritual values, Europeanism is characterized by the maximum utilization of objective possibilities and permanent doubt, the recognition of the possibility of error and the facing of its consequences, and tolerance of the different and competitive spirit. In his address, Mr Grosz expressed his appreciation of the achievements of the Kadar era, stressing that in the course of three decades, citizens' rights expanded and law and order prevailed. The party leadership stood for the interest of Hungary, encouraging independent activity and freedom of thought. Social consensus was brought about and administrative governing replaced by the political. The necessity of a change of models was recognised, although at the time it was thought the task could be distributed over a longer period.

The Nograd County HSWP committee appointed Karoly Grosz one of its congressional delegates.

Daily on Detainees' Return, Bilateral Relations

LD3008104689 Budapest MTI in English
0824 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—"The return of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi from Prague is noted with satisfaction. Considerable efforts had to be made to this effect. Based on their national commitments, and humanist convictions, efforts have been made by the Hungarian diplomacy both in Budapest and Prague, to free the two as early as possible, and that the issue should not burden bilateral ties. This had been the purpose, and not the one voiced by some that in the hope of a possible favourable home reaction, spectacular measures could be taken. In our view it was primarily the balanced, composed attitude that brought success. It should of course be mentioned that the constructive, rational way of thinking that gained upperhand in Prague was also favourable. Today we can safely state a fact which was not so certain yesterday: We are strengthened in our conviction that responsible politics is founded on similar grounds in both countries. It is also our conviction that Czechoslovak-Hungarian friendship and cooperation, founded on historical tradition and presently faced with similar problems, is far too important for anyone to disrupt it.

Now that this matter is behind us, everyone can draw their own conclusions, including the persons involved, their organisations and others. We cannot but voice our own opinion in these columns, where in recent days we have made repeated appeals for their release. This time we wish to emphasize that it can be expected from every Hungarian over the country's borders to adapt themselves to the laws of the given country. This cannot be subject to whether the country's laws are to their taste or not, or whether these laws are in harmony with Hungarian ones. With view to our national interests we ourselves would ultimately expect everyone to observe our laws, and no one should interfere with our internal matters. All this is part of the new attitude rejecting the Brezhnev-Doctrine and its "twin" concepts.

It would be advantageous if tomorrow's partners in debate would come to an understanding on yesterday's lessons. Namely, the cooperation with our neighbours is neither a "party matter" nor "group interest" but a national matter, concludes the article in Wednesday's issue of NEPSZABADSAG.

Editorial on Hungarians' Trial in Prague

AU3108163389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 30 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial by Andras Banki: "Verdict"]

[Text] With yesterday's sentence and the preceding procedure, the Czechoslovak authorities showed how consistent they were in implementing their laws. They must have had good reason for such a "strengthening of

confidence," because the careless treatment of the Helsinki Agreement—which was also signed by the CSSR—almost leads one to imagine a selective memory. However, we know that, as the Czech writer Hrabal once wrote, anything can happen in our good old middle-Eastern-European slovenliness, including its opposite.

Thus, it can also happen that a gentlemen's agreement is forgotten overnight, and agreement that, according to our information, stipulated that if Hungary were to fulfill the CSSR's demand to urge Hungarian citizens to observe the CSSR's laws and to warn them against interference in other countries' internal affairs, Prague would release the two Hungarian citizens arrested in the demonstrations. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry made this gesture on 24 August.

The Hungarians were not released, and now we have this sentence. Something must have happened in the meantime, but one can only guess what it is, or try to conclude from the tough-toned CSSR press. Since one can see no reference in these articles to the possibility that the CSSR's administration of justice opposed that country's diplomacy, we can only think of something that is amply hinted at: The demonstration in front of the CSSR Embassy in Budapest was a red flag in the eyes of Prague. However, there is a strange paradox here: Prague is extremely sensitive to the way people observe its laws; to the same degree, Prague is extremely nervous about the fact that the Hungarian authorities respect our laws and do not disperse peaceful demonstrators who make use of their legal right to express their solidarity with their fellow citizens.

Obviously, in instituting legal proceedings against Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi, the authorities in Prague were also led by a desire to make an example of the case. The people affected by this case should also draw the necessary conclusions from this. When a Hungarian citizen participates in a banned demonstration in Prague today, he takes a risk and also has to consider possible unpleasant consequences. In addition, such actions cause problems in relations between the two countries; at the same time, irrespective of its intention and real goals, any manifestation that can irritate the other side will only diminish the Hungarian diplomatic efforts aimed at finding a genuine solution to the affair in question.

However, concerning Hungarian-CSSR relations, an increasing number of signs show that the stronger the differences between the political systems and openness of the two countries, the greater the number of problems. Prague is as much afraid of the impact of the democratic restructuring in Hungary as the devil is of incense smoke. In an interview given to MAGYAR HIRLAP the other day, Jan Fojtik, a leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] openly declared the following: "The problem lies in the fact that everything that happens in Hungary also affects us, and the other way round." And also quoting him, we can say that "We must try to understand each other." Well, indeed we must try to do

that, because the events of this last week have proven that we find it increasingly difficult to understand each other.

Forint To Be Revalued Against USSR Ruble

LD2908115789 Budapest MTI in English
0938 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29, 1989 (MTI-ECONOMICS)—The Hungarian Government is to revalue the national currency, the forint, against the Soviet rouble by 1.50 forints, with one rouble fetching 27.50 forints (USD 0.458) instead of 29.

Mr Laszlo Bekesi, the Minister of Finances, announcing the move on Monday at a session of Parliament's Plan and Budget Committee, said that the change, which will take effect from September 1st, applies to the so-called Transferable Rouble, used for intergovernmental trade agreements between COMECON countries. The rate of the Tourist Rouble—actual roubles Hungarian citizens can buy for travelling purposes in the Soviet Union—remains unchanged, at 19.50 forints to the rouble plus a 4 percent handling fee.

The measure is an attempt to tackle the problem of Hungary's current account surplus in roubles, which between January and July grew to 865.1 million roubles, as against 233.8 million last year.

Rouble-accounted trade was 373.6 million roubles in surplus, a striking increase over the 27.4-million-roubles surplus in the corresponding period last year. This is due mainly to a fall in Soviet exports to Hungary—260 million roubles less than in the first seven months of last year—which has already caused some shortages, especially in the Hungarian chemical industry.

In order to alleviate the effects of the forint revaluation on Hungarian agricultural exports, farmers will get a 200 million forint (USD 3.3 million) subsidy, the minister added.

Hungarian exports to the Soviet Union will also be cut back, Mr Bekesi said, even below the specifications of the intergovernmental agreement where necessary, to reflect the drop in Soviet exports to Hungary.

Mr Bekesi also revealed that the terms of trade in rouble accounting were now 4 percent better for Hungary than at the same time last year while those of convertible trade had improved by 3.3 percent. This meant a 30 billion forints (USD 500 million) liquidity surplus for Hungarian companies—something, he said, that "they did not deserve."

To reduce this excess liquidity in the economy, the national bank is to raise the rate of compulsory reserves of commercial banks by 3 percent and also cut the central bank refinancing facility in the fourth quarter. Siphoning off excess liquidity is something the IMF is seeking in its forthcoming negotiations with the Hungarian government on a new standby credit.

USSR-Hungary Trade Discussed

LD3008153689 Budapest MTI in English
1225 GMT 30 Aug 89

["Hungarian-Soviet Trade, No Cause for Alarm, Ministry says"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, August 30, 1989 (MTI-ECONOMICS)—Hungarian-Soviet economic and commercial cooperation which accounts for a third of the country's overall trade, is by and large keeping to the plan, an official of the Hungarian Ministry of Trade informed MTI-ECONOMICS.

This follows a Ministry of Finance statement last week that in the first seven months of the year Hungarian imports from the Soviet Union were 260 million roubles lower than during the same period last year, contributing to a record Hungarian trade surplus of 373.6 million roubles in its rouble-trade, as against only 27.4 million roubles at the same time last year.

The statement called for urgent corrective measures by the Hungarians to further cut Hungarian exports, even where necessary below the stipulations of the intergovernmental trade agreement.

The Ministry of Trade official said there has indeed been a fall in bilateral trade. In 1986 the two countries exchanged goods and services worth 9.2 to 9.3 billion roubles, a year later the figure was 9.4 to 9.5 billion roubles, but in 1988 it fell back to 9.3 billion roubles. The agreed plan for the current year is 8.6 roubles—4.3 billion roubles on each side. The Soviet shortfall in deliveries is relatively small when measured against the planned total, the ministry official said.

The official confirmed that the Soviet Union's delay in supplying certain products and materials has caused some concern lately, but stressed that, contrary to what it called 'alarming' press reports, Soviet companies were for the most part honouring agreed delivery schedules.

The supply of vital energy, oil, gas and electricity, is proceeding normally, with delivery arrears, at 10 percent, no more than is customary in bilateral trade at any time and this is also the case for metals, industrial timber, cars, some chemicals, cellulose and industrial petrol.

It has been quite usual for a number of years for Soviet deliveries to fall some 100 million roubles behind the annual schedule by the end of the year, whereas Hungarian companies' delivery arrears usually work out twice as much. By the middle of August there were only 50-60 million roubles worth of Hungarian arrears, as against the Soviet Union's 60 million roubles, and this low Hungarian figure has also contributed to the larger than usual Hungarian trade surplus.

Hungary is behind schedule in delivering light industrial products (including ready-made clothing, knitwear, fabrics) and plant protective materials.

The improvement in the fulfilment of Soviet export contracts is attributed to the fact that the rate of the ruble was raised from 26 to 29 forints early this year leading to reports that ruble exports would be cut by around 10 percent this year.

Increasingly barter deals are emerging as a way out of the problem. In 1987 they accounted for 120 million rubles' worth of trade, in 1988, 290 million and in the first half of the current year 225 million rubles.

The Ministry of Trade says the recent decision to revalue the forint by 1.50 forints against the ruble (from 29 forints to 27.50) as from September 1, although intended to cut ruble exports, is not likely to affect bilateral trade substantially in the latter part of the year.

Thai Crown Prince Arrives for Visit, Talks

Met by Straub

*LD2808120189 Budapest MTI in English
1025 GMT 28 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—Crown Prince Maha Wachiralongkon of Thailand arrived on official visit to Hungary on Monday [28 August] at the invitation of F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council.

The prince is accompanied by Michai Ruchupan, Minister without portfolio at the Prime Ministerial Office, Sutthisawat Kridakon, ambassador to Hungary of Thailand, and Ambassador Wikrom Khumphairot, official at the Foreign Ministry responsible for European affairs.

The royal guest was welcomed at Ferihegy Airport by his host, Mr Straub. Subsequently, the guests were driven to the House of Parliament.

Straub Hosts Dinner

*LD2908210389 Budapest MTI in English
1855 GMT 29 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, gave a dinner in the honour of Maha Wachiralongkon. The event was attended by prominent representatives of the Hungarian economic, political and cultural life.

In his toast, Mr Straub stressed that Hungary is highly interested in the internationally recognized results Thailand has achieved in renewing and developing its economy. The dynamic advance and flexible adjustment of the country to the world economical environment deserves acknowledgement. The country can serve as an example to Hungary, he said, pointing out that it has similar goals. The bringing about of an entirely new Hungary would involve the introduction of a market economy, the elimination of restrictions imposed on various ownership forms, and the establishment of a state structure built on constitutional democracy. To do this Hungary seeks open relations with the countries of

the world, and is deeply interested in the versatile development of contacts with the flourishing Kingdom of Thailand.

In his answer, Maha Wachiralongkon voiced his genuine hope that his visit would also contribute to the development and reinforcement of relations and friendship between Hungary and Thailand.

Received by Horn

*LD3008194889 Budapest MTI in English
1807 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—On the third day of his official visit to Hungary, Maha Wachiralongkon, crown prince of the Kingdom of Thailand, visited the electronics management of the Hungarian People's Army and Mate Zalka Military College on Wednesday.

Following, he held an exchange of views with Gyula Horn, Minister of Foreign Affairs, at his place of residence. In the course of the informal conversation, the parties expressed satisfaction with the continuous and undisturbed improvement of the relations between the two countries.

Mr Horn said high-level relations tend to considerably reinforce mutual confidence which serves not only the political but also the economic interests of Hungary. All the more so, as Thailand is the largest export market of Hungary in the South-East Asian region. He also touched upon the endeavours of Hungarian foreign policy to set up a new type of system of relations with the European integration, balanced contacts with the United States, and to take part in the realization of large-scale Hungarian reform endeavours.

The guest expressed the hope that his visit to Hungary would contribute to the further development of Thai-Hungarian relations.

The Thai crown prince was taken on a sight seeing tour of Budapest during the course of the afternoon.

Crown Prince Concludes Visit

*LD3109221489 Budapest MTI in English
1916 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—Having concluded his official visit to Hungary, Maha Wachiralongkon, crown prince of the Kingdom of Thailand, left Budapest on Thursday. His host, F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, was also present at the farewell ceremony at Ferihegy airport during the afternoon.

On the fourth and final day of his visit, the crown prince was visited by State Minister Imre Pozsgay at his place of residence. In the course of their informal conversation, Mr Pozsgay briefed the crown prince on Hungarian political reform endeavours, which are assisted by the current favourable international situation, particularly the Soviet perestroika. An important factor in the foreign political environment supporting the reform has

been the current visit by the Thai crown prince, as it will also contribute to the ceasing of the atmosphere of distrust and advance the mutual approach of the leaders of the two countries, Mr Pozsgay said.

The crown prince told Mr Pozsgay of his interest in the political and economic reform processes going on in Hungary. He voiced his conviction that these consistent efforts would bring success, which would create even more favourable ground for cooperation between the two countries.

Relations Assessed

*LD0109090689 Budapest MTI in English
0629 GMT 1 Sep 89*

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—After Maha Wachiralongkon, crown prince of Thailand, left Hungary on August 31, MTI interviewed Jozsef Benyi, deputy minister of foreign affairs, on the experience and achievements of the visit.

Mr Benyi said the distinguished attention Hungary had paid to Thailand is rooted in the political and world economic changes of past years. Hungarian diplomacy noticed a long time ago that numerous new centres of development had sprung up in the world. One such rapidly developing region is that of South-east Asia. The international influence and reputation of countries in the region is based on their accumulation of scientific, technical and technological knowledge, the drive of modern development.

Hungary aims to improve its relations with these countries, including the Kingdom of Thailand. Mr Benyi also pointed out that the economic relations between the two countries lack business confidence for the time being, which would be the basis of up-to-date forms of cooperation.

The deputy foreign minister also said that Hungary would like to set up a kind of stronghold in Bangkok in the direction of the south-east region, and apparently, Thailand has chosen Budapest for a similar role in the direction of Eastern Europe.

As the next stage in the development of relations, Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy is to visit Thailand in late October with an entourage of economic leaders and banking experts. In the course of his visit, they plan to exchange the ratification documents on the elimination of double taxation and sign an agreement on investment protection.

DEMISZ Continues Campaign for President

*LD3008100589 Budapest MTI in English
0808 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—Over 10 thousand signatures have been collected in the past two weeks, by activists of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Union

(DEMISZ), urging the introduction of the post of president of the Republic. The minimum aspiration of the union was thereby achieved, but it intends to continue the campaign in order to have the matter raised at the ongoing political conciliatory discussions also, it was reported to MTI by Csaba Kracsun, vice president of DEMISZ.

Mr Kracsun also reported that support is still required, because the campaign had brought no change in the situation despite the fact that recent weeks have seen the acceleration of conciliatory discussions. It was repeatedly emphasized by Mr Kracsun, that DEMISZ lays great emphasis on the conciliatory discussions, where it is represented by Imre Nagy, president of the union, (as a member of the third side). This provides a chance for the reaching of an agreement on this issue as well. According to the DEMISZ's concept, a medium powerful post of president could play a kind of balancing role in the struggle between various parties and political trends.

Nyers on Place for Party in Organizations

*LD3108084889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0800 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] At the Budapest Party Committee Delegate Club Rezso Nyers, party chairman, said that Imre Pozsgay was authorized only to accept the proposal from the third side and the Opposition Roundtable for the abolition of party organizations in the courts, prosecutors' offices, organizations of state power, and the Armed Forces. Rezso Nyers said he will not recommend to the Central Committee that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party leave the workplace, for the party work can be gradually redirected to the residential areas.

Nyers: Members Allegiance To Be Investigated

*LD3108085589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] will investigate whether there is any truth in the assertion that 23 Central Committee members, and several county party leaders have joined the Workers Marxist-Leninist Party. This was said by Rezso Nyers in the Budapest Party Committee Delegate Club yesterday evening. The assertion itself appeared in MAI NAP in the recent past, and comes from Sandor Petress. According to the MSZMP president, the statement does not correspond to reality. The investigation will not be carried out with Stalinist methods, secret service detective work, added Rezso Nyers.

Nemeth Addresses Budapest Electoral District*AU3008121689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 28 Aug 89 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Perhaps Fewer, But Stronger"]

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] will hold a congress in a month. Preparations started a few weeks ago. Conflicting opinions often led to stormy meetings over the weekend, meetings in which deputies were elected. [passage omitted] The meeting held in the 5th District in Budapest stressed the need for a unified party. [passage omitted] Premier Miklos Nemeth also took the floor at the Budapest 5th District deputy meeting held on 26 August. Speaking about the approaching congress, Miklos Nemeth said: "The party should renew its program, organization, and personnel composition in a way to make it clear how it envisages the common future of the country and socialism. At the same time, opportunities must be created for those who do not agree with the party guideline to resign from the party in a civilized and European way. Perhaps the party membership will decrease by 100,000 or 150,000 people, but we will be politically more united, firm, clear, and more expedient." Miklos Nemeth, who is also a member of the MSZMP Presidium, stressed that the party should concentrate not only on establishing a centrum within the party, because if it concentrates only on this, it is possible that the party will find such a center within itself, but will lose it among the people. At times of party struggles, one should not lose the historical chance of building a new country. Miklos Nemeth also spoke about Hungary's international situation and opportunities. He said that we should not dangle the country from a single thread, but we should work out a defense net based on correct relations.

Responding to delegates' questions, Miklos Nemeth pointed out that the possibilities of general restriction had become exhausted and the tightening economic policy was unable to pull the economy out of the downward spiral. [passage omitted]

TU Council To Propose Withdrawal From Talks*LD3008220189 Budapest MTI in English
1845 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—The Presidium of SZOT (National Council of Trade Unions) will suspend the participation of its delegation in the trilateral interest coordinating talks and propose to the plenary session of SZOT to be convened for the next week to finally withdraw the commission of the delegation, Magda Kovacs Kosa, secretary of SZOT, announced in parliament before the start of the Wednesday round of talks.

She said as reasons for the decision that the economic talks which are of vital importance to the trade unions have not gone beyond the level of specialist debates, the political coordinating talks are more and more explicitly becoming exclusively an inter-party forum and the Third

Side cannot make its position recognised. The Opposition Roundtable [EKA] has even openly questioned the equality of the third side. Mrs Kosa voiced the deep concern of the SZOT Presidium over the fact that this could lead to the exclusion of a large number of working people from the process of creating the political and economic conditions for the peaceful transition.

Imre Pozsgay, head of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] delegation, expressed his regret at the withdrawal of SZOT. Then he announced that the HSWP delegation had turned to the Central Committee for reassurance on the matter of party organizations in the working place and asked for the postponement of the talks on the subject until next week. The delegation of the Opposition Roundtable approved the postponement. The representative of the Ferenc Munnich Society stressed that his organization was in principle against the idea of banning parties from the working place.

Viktor Orban thanked Imre Pozsgay on behalf of the EKA for his personal contribution to the release of the two young men arrested in Prague.

Following, in the course of the debate on the institution of the president of the Republic, the Opposition Roundtable put forward a compromise proposal on the institution of the president of the Republic. The proposal says the institution should be included in the modified constitution. It also outlines the future scope of activity and authority of the president, which would include the post of the commander in chief of the army. According to the proposal, the president should be elected following the parliamentary elections and until then the speaker of Parliament should fulfil the function of head of state. The EKA provided the other two sides with a copy of the proposal for further study. They agreed on submitting the proposal to specialists for study and to debate it at a later date.

Imre Pozsgay put forward the new position of the HSWP on the issue of the Workers' Militia. Accordingly, the Workers' Militia should be classified under the Army on lines of national guards in operation elsewhere. Members of any party could join the Workers Militia, which would have the appropriate symbols and uniform. The EKA representative says the constitution should provide for the prohibition of the establishment of armed corps with political goals. Mr Pozsgay considered this proposal acceptable and recommended it for debate by a committee of specialists.

According to the HSWP, the introductory part of the constitution should include: "The Hungarian Republic is an independent, democratic and socialist constitutional state". The Opposition Roundtable, however, still maintained that the attribute "socialist" should be omitted from the constitution. The third side equally did not insist on "socialist" and the subject is now to be reviewed by specialist committees.

It has been announced that the HSWP has reached an agreement with television on a weekly 50-60 minute

programme on the progress of trilateral talks. One member of the delegations of the HSWP, the EKA and the third side will assist in the editing.

The medium level political coordinating talks continue on Monday [4 September] with a debate on questions pertaining to openness.

Trade Union League Discusses SZOT Moves

*LD3108141289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Summary] The independent trade unions do not accept direction by any party and are opposed to political party activities at workplaces. They also have information that SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] intends to field an independent candidate at the national elections. Peter Marvanyi reports from the consultation of the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions.

[Marvanyi] The League forms a committee for legal and interest protection for independent unions which keep springing up; the most recent unites miners in Oroszlany. The League compiles information about industrial disputes and labor issues and has created an academy to provide advice.

The League proposes to freeze the wealth of the [official] trade unions, ie. the SZOT-affiliated branch trade unions; this is the joint property of the organized workers but in part it is of unclear origin and legal status. The proposal was born because negotiations with SZOT over the issue have broken down.

The League's Council has issued a statement noting they do not rule out recommending individual candidates [at the national elections] if they will have proved in the past—independently of their party affiliation—that they take a stand in support of the workers. The statement is connected to SZOT's intention to field candidates as a political party at the elections.

More on National Farmers Group News Briefing

*LD3008174389 Budapest MTI in English
1624 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—The National Farmers' Federation is urging the setting up of land utilization committees, it was announced by board

member Antal Hajagos during the first press conference of the organization. He said the committees would be affiliated to the councils and have only local members. Their first task would be to survey fallows under the management of large-scale farms.

On the objectives of the National Farmers' Federation founded in Pecel on 19 August they said that they wished to protect the interest of farmers and their cooperatives. They pointed out that the interests of private farms which supply about half of the agricultural turnover have not been represented since 1945 and did not receive state subsidies which cooperatives and state farms were entitled to for investment and production. Therefore, the federation calls for larger support to private producers. They intend to take part in price debates and the knock-down of industrial prices and wish to set up their own produce sale organization. To ensure the quality of forage they are to set up a control network.

In the course of the press briefing, they also read out the appeal in which they call on parties, private producers, small farmers and cooperative members and employees, as well as other organizations to boycott the congress convened by the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives (TOT) for December 10-12, as they feel it is aimed only at preserving the current organization.

Alternative Military Service Applied For

*LD3008195789 Budapest MTI in English
1810 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—According to the annual training schedule, some 31,000 young recruits were called up for the Hungarian People's Army, the Border Guard of the Interior Ministry and the Construction and Technical Units of the People's Army on Tuesday and Wednesday. Under the modified defence law, young people are given an opportunity to apply for alternative service. Sixty of them have so far applied to join the unarmed military service and 219 the civilian service. Their applications will be judged in the near future, and they will take up their service next February following the decision and possible court appeals.

Mazowiecki Discusses Government Delay

LD3108182189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Excerpts] As I mentioned at the beginning of the program Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki today invited journalists from PAP and from radio and television. Facing microphones and cameras he said: [Begin Mazowiecki recording] I publically announced that I would provide information, and I think I should do so now regarding matters relating to the forming of a government. My goal—as I have said—was to form a government, to finish the process of forming a government by the end of August. However this period of time has turned out to be too short. I wish to state that this does not arise from some particular difficulties though, of course, the process of forming a coalition government is not easy—it is very complex—but this does not stem from any particular difficulties which might have arisen but from the fact that it necessitates, after all, some what more time and that during this period I was absorbed also by other business which I had not foreseen—very many guests from abroad, of such standing that I had to receive them, and also it stems from the fact that the parliamentary procedure, before the expose [as heard] and the confirmation of the government, will need at least (?a few days) of discussions in commissions over specific candidatures.

I would therefore like to explain to the public why I cannot keep to the deadline; I would like to do this as quickly as possible and I ask for understanding. I know that people are waiting for this government to be formed quickly but I would like them to understand also that this is an undertaking, by various people, of very responsible tasks and that it must be formed well. I will wish to do this as quickly as possible and I am continuing, as everyone knows from reports, talks with all parliamentary floor groups and—yesterday I had an important talk with the president—I shall continue to hold talks.

I would like to take advantage of this occasion in order to...[changes thought] today is an important day, an important anniversary, this is a great, historic, dramatic anniversary, and today is also a very important anniversary for the process which we are continuing today—namely the ninth anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk Agreements. I had the desire and the hope that I could be in Gdansk today but, well, important state business—I had a telephone conversation with Chancellor Kohl, and there was other important business—made it impossible for me to go to Gdansk today. I shall be in Gdansk tomorrow morning in connection with the ceremonies at Westerplatte and before that I would like, about 1100 [0900 GMT] to lay flowers at the foot of the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers. To all friends from those days—spent together in such difficult and dramatic but, I think, fruitful circumstances—I sent very heartfelt greetings and I am with them in the ceremonies held today. And finally I would like to thank people for the huge number of testimonials of understanding and goodwill which I receive—best wishes and many, many other fruits of success. [passage omitted]

And my heartfelt good wishes to you all, who are watching me and listening to me. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Talks With Coalition Allies

AU3108134689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Aug 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Tadeusz Mazowiecki Holds Talks"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki is continuing talks on the formation of the government. Today he met with the Presidium of the Citizens Parliamentary Club and its chairman, Professor Bronislaw Geremek; Aleksander Bentkowski, the chairman of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Deputies Club; Roman Malinowski, the chairman of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL; Professor Jan Janowski, the chairman of the Democratic Party [SD] Deputies Club; and Jerzy Jozwiak, the chairman of the Central Committee of the SD. Jacek Ambroziak, under secretary in the Office of Council of Ministers, was also present. The last two of the meetings were also attended by Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

Directly after each of the meetings the following people spoke to a PAP reporter on the talks they had with Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club said: "The Presidium of the Citizens Parliamentary Club talked with the premier about the principles of cooperation between the parliament and the government, including of course our parliamentary club, with which the premier is linked. I consider that in this meeting we agreed on certain principles that will apply in the formation of government programs. Various spheres of Polish public opinion, including the Citizens Parliamentary Club and 'Solidarity' trade union circles, will have the opportunity to contribute to the elaboration of these programs. We also discussed the composition of the government, but the main problem was to agree on the government programs; programs which in the short and long term will answer the population's expectations. The presidium expressed its belief that this should also be the fundamental consideration in the selection of candidates for ministerial posts. The premier made us aware of certain matters which make the initial deadline that was originally set for the formation of the new government, namely 31 August, impossible to meet. We, nevertheless, think that we shall be able to form a new government within the first 10 days of September and present this government to the Sejm for its acceptance."

Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL, said: "The first meeting that I and my colleague Bentkowski had with Premier Mazowiecki was mainly on the fundamental problems facing the country and the government, and their eventual solution. The talks we have just had,

concentrated on the composition of the new government. The discussion was very specific and to the point. No names were put forward, we limited ourselves to discussing a certain conception of government, because the premier is still holding discussions with various representatives of other political and social forces. I wish to state, however, that it is important that we have arrived at such a broad coalition government in which all the reforming forces in parliament are to participate. It is significant that Tadeusz Mazowiecki was chosen premier, and it is important that this choice has met with approval and acceptance, not just in the Sejm, but among Polish society, and abroad, both in the West and East. We talked about certain relationships within the government in line with the contents of the declaration that we agreed on and which was issued jointly with Lech Walesa, and we discussed our expectations arising from that document. We discussed the principle that we should not receive less posts than we were originally offered by the outgoing premier, Czeslaw Kiszczak. As regards the subject of which ministries we can expect, this remains to be discussed later in order to give the premier more flexibility in forming a government. Let us leave this question to his constitutional right. In any event, the details relating to the formation of a government are of secondary importance. They are of course important from the point of view of the future activity and dynamism of the government, but I consider that even when we get down to the detailed questions we shall be able to come to some arrangement and reach an effective agreement."

Jan Janowski, chairman of the SD Deputies Club, said: "The talks held were very much to the point. Their aim was to bring closer certain solutions of a structural and programmatic nature which would allow the premier to take the next step in this very difficult mission of forming the new government. The chairman of the SD explained the wide range of possibilities and the interests of the SD, and it was on the basis of these proposals and because of our mutual understanding, that we debated the programs which the next government will begin implementing. In this process the SD could play an important role—a role that may entail introducing, coordinating, or implementing these programs—and assist the new government to meet social expectations at a very early stage. The program has to be divided into two stages, the first stage consisting of solutions that have to be introduced without any further delay, and the second stage consisting of the more general program which is especially related to the economic sphere. This second stage cannot be delayed, but it cannot be implemented ad hoc either. The premier and we both realize this. I am thinking here of the program that will help in the restructuring of our economy and meet the demands that the World Bank, the IMF, and other foreign business partners may require before they commit themselves to joint economic cooperation and investment in our country. We also discussed the composition of the government without reaching any definite conclusions. It was more a matter of presenting our interests and the

qualifications of our candidates for government posts. This we hope will aid the premier in the difficult choice that he has to make in the face of the mounting expectations and the proposals relating to the composition of the government made by the various members of the coalition."

Solidarity's Bratkowski Sees Ways to Progress

PM3108160189 Turin LA STAMPA in Italian
20 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with Stefan Bratkowski, editor on Polish Solidarity paper GAZETA WYBORCZA and "close adviser" to Lech Walesa, by Piero de Garzarolli: "'Now or Never for Solidarity'"; in Warsaw, date not specified]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Question] Mr Bratkowski, how did you reach the decision to take up the heavy burden of national responsibility when only 2 weeks ago Walesa was ruling out any idea of a "grand coalition" with the Communist Party?

[Answer] Unprepared as we were for the task, we had no alternative. Certainly, the April Round Table agreements assigned us the predesignated role of guard dog, and that was all. Each in his proper place—they trying to disentangle the knotted skein of 45 years of mismanagement, and we ready to help them from the outside. The plan was shattered by the June general election result. The people severely punished the Polish United Workers Party's arrogance by handing us outright victory on a silver platter. Perhaps we were a little late waking up, and now we are going to have to run uphill. The important thing is to find the right balance between our trade unionists and our intellectuals.

[Question] How did the Solidarity grassroots respond to the sudden change of course?

[Answer] I would say: with a growing interest which reassures us. We do not deny that the mass tends to be apathetic and spineless, to trust the middle way because so many promises have come to nothing. It happened before the election, and the wait-and-see phenomenon is occurring again now. Perhaps you hoped to see our people dancing with abandon in the streets of the capital? I'm afraid not: That kind of outburst would have been out of place, considering the lessons we learned from the enthusiastic days of August 1980, when Solidarity was born. Rather, a time has come for fastening our seatbelts to prevent ourselves from reacting to the provocations of radical elements.

[Question] Hitherto Solidarity has been riding the tiger of popular discontent; will it be able in the future to contain the inevitable social tensions?

[Answer] We have major problems in abundance. We are certainly going to have to take measures that are hard to swallow. But the game is worth the effort and the troubles can be stilled: Heaven has given us plenty of means. Strikes will become a blunt weapon and a thing of

the past if we succeed in reforming the system, demonopolizing the bureaucracy, and introducing the efficiency of the free market.

[Question] We are trying to draw an outline of the Mazowiecki government. Is cohabitation with the "nomenklatura" practicable, or will it be a classic cat-and-mouse contest?

[Answer] Not with the party led by Rakowski. His people will be the first to obstruct it, and he himself makes things even more difficult. He wants to come out dressed as the aggressor, not the collaborator. Fortunately, a good proportion of the communists are of a different stamp: There are those who support the Round Table, for instance. They are not afraid of us, and they are prepared to work together.

[Question] What part do you think the two "renegade" parties will play? Will they be loyal to the cause of the alliance with Solidarity after decades as the regime's humble water-carriers?

[Answer] I have great confidence in the Democratic group, who are similar to the West German Liberals and could be transformed into the defenders of small-scale commerce. But I do see rough water ahead for the Peasant Party. In the past they have had two ministries—agriculture and forestry. They will now be claiming a more relevant and incisive role, but they are short of cadres.

[Question] Are you expecting more help from the West as a result of Poland's astonishing change of direction?

[Answer] Everything will get easier, moreover I can see clearly what I call the mental Marshall Plan. Less cash and more knowhow. We do not have good-quality experts or technical personnel, and we need to allocate at least 1 million posts in public administration—300,000 in the banking sector alone. Where are we going to find them? The West must help us through finance for education; credits are secondary.

[Question] Will Gorbachev stay outside, just observing the development of the Polish experiment?

[Answer] Yes, because he can only gain from doing so. If our laboratory gets stronger through a gradual process of internal stabilization, that will be useful for him at home. Polish economic rebirth will silence his critics and will benefit all of East Europe.

Polish Senate Head Cited on Coalition Options

PM3108084589 Rome L'UNITA in Italian
17 Aug 89 p 5

[Interview with Polish Senate Chairman Andrzej Stelmachowski by Gabriel Bertinetto in Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] [Bertinetto] The Polish political crisis is now developing at a frantic pace. What is happening?

[Stelmachowski] Since Solidarity's election victory, which was unexpected even for us, the Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD) have shown an inclination to change their own status as "satellites" in their 40-year alliance with the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. It even happens that when the president was elected, some of the ZSL and SD deputies voted against Jaruzelski's candidacy, and it was through our assistance alone that that candidacy was approved. We acted in that way because an issue of general security and external relations within the Warsaw Pact was involved, but now that it is a matter of forming the government, the problem is different. The choice of Kiszczak as prime minister was not a happy one, although he is a promoter of the new democratic course. It was incomprehensible to the public that the restoration of democracy should begin by placing two generals in the two top posts in the state, so the ZSL, the SD, and Solidarity are proposing that a noncommunist should head the government.

[Bertinetto] With the Communists in the government or in opposition?

[Stelmachowski] I am personally convinced that now is the time for a grand coalition between the three parties of the outgoing government (the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD) and Solidarity. In such a coalition the most natural solution is for the prime minister to belong to Solidarity. A counterweight to the president's power must be created.

[Bertinetto] Would the PZPR be guaranteed the interior and defense ministries, as the latest statements by several Solidarity leaders suggest?

[Stelmachowski] This is being discussed. The hypothesis of more limited PZPR participation in the government must also be considered, but the first problem to be resolved is that of the post of prime minister. The alliance now being talked about involves Solidarity, the ZSL, and the SD, but the PZPR will have to be consulted again as soon as possible. It will be discussed with Jaruzelski. The hypothesis of a three-party Solidarity-ZSL-SD government, with the allocation of the interior and defense ministries to the Communists, is just the starting point.

[Bertinetto] Walesa has spoken of a "government of national responsibility, formed by Solidarity, the ZSL, and the SD, which would safeguard respect for the head of state's prerogatives." That is, in some way it would cede control over the interior and defense ministries to Jaruzelski. How?

[Stelmachowski] The president could influence those ministries' activity through the National Defense Committee, on which the defense and interior ministers sit. The situation taking shape for the Foreign Ministry is less clear, even if the Constitution makes the head of state a kind of guarantor of foreign policy.

[Bertinetto] Be that as it may, we are on the eve of a historic change.

[Stelmachowski] Yes, the question of the PZPR sharing power with others arises for the first time. Everything is in flux.

[Bertinetto] Is the hypothesis of the PZPR in opposition well founded?

[Stelmachowski] Nothing can be ruled out, but, in my opinion, we are not experiencing a stage when the Communists are relegated to opposition. It is the time for a real—not nominal—different share-out of power. It would be unreasonable at this time to set ourselves the aim of eliminating the PZPR from the government.

[Bertinetto] However, a section of Solidarity would like this.

[Stelmachowski] Yes, others believe that the Communists must be excluded from the Council of Ministers because they believe that the situation is developing rapidly and that this is the only way to implement radical reforms. It is a viewpoint present in Solidarity.

[Bertinetto] Do you believe that Lech Walesa would be the best possible prime minister in the current situation?

[Stelmachowski] It would be a hazardous choice for Solidarity as a trade union. If Walesa became prime minister he would obviously have to relinquish the chairmanship of the trade union. You cannot be at the same time an employer and a representative of the workers. A dangerous situation could develop in the trade union if it were deprived of his leadership. Certainly, from another viewpoint, Poland would have a charismatic leader, capable of guaranteeing social peace during a stage when tension among citizens is high.

[Bertinetto] How do you assess the concern expressed by Moscow over the past few days?

[Stelmachowski] The USSR wished to set some limits, but this is no longer Brezhnev's day. As far as we are concerned, the question of leaving the Warsaw Pact does not arise, and Poland's external relations will not be affected.

Solidarity Calls for Military Budget Cuts

AU3008090189 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 11 Aug 89 p 4

[Jacek Kochanowicz article: "How Much Does the Security of the State Cost?"]

[Text] One of "Solidarity's" election program points was a call for a 20 percent reduction in the budgets of the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs. This demand was first put forward at the "roundtable" negotiations and was promptly rejected by the government side.

Generally speaking, the government's argument can be divided into three components. The first, is the accusation that this runs counter to state interest (if it is not

downright anti-Polish) and that it smacks of foreign involvement. The second, is the argument that the "Solidarity" side is simply not competent in these matters. Finally, the third, is the contention that this expenditure simply cannot be reduced as it is already at a minimum level, and these two ministries are exceptionally savings conscious.

I will not bother commenting the first argument, as it is not worth the time.

The argument about non-competence is, however, absolutely true. The strict secrecy surrounding the workings of these two government departments precludes anyone on the outside from collecting sufficient concrete information to substantiate his opinions. Only a very small part of this cloak of secrecy was lifted in the interview given by General Florian Siwicki, and by the publication of the Warsaw Pact-NATO comparison of forces. It is obvious that a discussion of the expenditure cuts in the Ministry of National Defense would entail a reconsideration of our military doctrine, the nature of our treaty obligations, the composition and organization of the Armed Forces, and so on and so forth, as happens regularly in the mass media and in the parliaments of Western democracies where the cloak of state secrecy is limited to fewer areas. In Poland, public opinion does not have access to this information, and thus, it is not competent to comment. The existing range of areas which fall within the category of being a state secret is quite illogical, and is not supported by any real considerations of security, as one is able to read much more about the Polish Armed Forces in Western publications than in those at home. Information about the numbers, and the structure of the Armed Forces, and about the personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and their equipment and pay, are only available from the perfunctory comments of their spokesmen. There really is no reason why these details could not be made available, within reasonable limits, in the state's publications of official statistics.

The fact that the public is kept in the dark does not mean that it is not interested in the cost of defense policy, because we all bear this cost. Additionally, this certainly does not mean that it is uninterested in the cost of the internal security services, which is the main area of concern of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. One can and one ought to renew demands for a greater social, and, above all, parliamentary control, over the activity and the expenditure of these two government departments, as well as and stimulate a wider public discussion of their aims—a discussion in which the opposition must have an equal right to be heard.

Special attention has to be focused on the third component of the government's argument, according to which the cost of the upkeep of the Army and the internal security services in Poland is relatively low. In a nutshell, this line of argument and the supporting facts are not convincing.

Let us develop this further by using the information that has been given in the Polish mass media.

The budgets of the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs were the subject of discussion in the previous Sejm. Deputy Danuta Grzywaczewska accepted, for example, that the cost of the Armed Forces was reasonable, because the sum allocated to defense in the state budget was only Z982 billion. This is truly a low figure, as government subsidies to the milk processing industry in 1988 were around Z882.5 billion. Thus, the upkeep of an army which is numerically the sixth largest in Europe is costing us roughly the same as subsidies for milk and cottage cheese. If one were to take these figures seriously, one could come to the conclusion that by abandoning these subsidies, we could double the size of our Armed Forces and become a great power in Europe, second to none but the Soviet Union. From the facts presented by Grzywaczewska, it would appear that we contribute Z25,100 per capita toward the upkeep of the Armed Forces, namely, the price of an average pair of shoes. Can this be the true cost of military expenditure to our economy? One has to have doubts.

Let us compare the armed forces of Poland and the FRG. It transpires that in relative terms our Army is in fact larger. The population of Poland is 62 percent of the population of the FRG, and the numbers given for our Armed Forces (347,000 before the last announced reductions) works out to be 70 percent of the West German Army. For every 10,000 inhabitants in Poland there are thus 92 soldiers, and in the FRG it works out to 83. Let us add that for the same 10,000 inhabitants there are 121 students in Poland, and 254 in the FRG, disregarding the fact that proportionally there are many more young people in Poland....

As an example, let us compare several categories of arms. Using the same proportions, we thus have 56 percent of the number of German military aircraft; 119 percent of tactical missile launchers; 68 percent of battle tanks; 70 percent of armored personnel carriers; and 96 percent of the numbers of the German rocket artillery and heavy artillery units. From the above, and taking into consideration the relative sizes of the two populations, we lead the West Germans in almost all the stated categories. On the other hand, we have a much smaller fleet of warships, a slightly smaller air force, and we have a marked inferiority in helicopters. One can therefore say that for each inhabitant, we have armed forces of roughly similar size. Let us also suppose that the quality of the Polish Army is comparable to the German Army, and that our tanks are not of cardboard and our rifles not of wood. Thus, in real terms our Army must cost us approximately the same as the German Army costs the Germans, all the more so as our national economy, in spite of the low cost of labor, is certainly not more productive than the German economy.

According to the figures published in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, German military expenditure is running at about \$560 per inhabitant per annum. This is just below

5 percent of the national income of the FRG, which in the mid 1980's was around the \$11,000 mark per head of population. Our true military expenditure (even taking into account our smaller Air Force, Navy, and the lower salary scales for military personnel) must therefore be somewhere near \$500 per head (the director of a tank factory in Labedy, when asked about the cost of our tanks, answered that the cost per tank was the same as for a "Leopard"). Calculation of the Polish national income in U.S. dollars is problematic; however, it is certain that per-capita income does not exceed \$3,000. It would appear that our Army must therefore cost us 15 or maybe 20 percent of this per capita income, whereas the official figures for the defense budget in 1987 stated that it was only 3.3 percent of the gross national product.

The above calculations are of course speculative, as it is impossible to give true figures. The official figures are also widely at variance with the official statement made in POLITYKA by Colonel Stanislaw Koziejka from the Polish Army general staff, a person who ought to know what he is talking about, who stated that "economics demand that there be a reduction in military expenditure. This is especially relevant to the weaker economies, which are functioning below a certain level of effectiveness.... Without any shadow of doubt, the Polish economy is functioning below this level. A sick man, no matter how hard he may want to, cannot carry a burden that a healthy man can bear. If he does not want to collapse under such a burden he has to reduce part of it at least." Thus, the above calculations and the cited statement seem to confirm the suspicion that the official figures given for the Ministry of National Defense budget, and the allied arguments about the low cost of the Army, do not merit serious consideration.

This leaves the outstanding question: What is the reason behind the astonishingly low official figure for the budget of the Ministry of National Defense? In trying to answer the question we are of course in the realms of speculation. It seems that we have to seek two kinds of clues. The first may come from the assumption that part of the cost of the Armed Forces is borne by ministries other than the Ministry of National Defense. One is aware that this ministry does not make contributions toward the pension fund of its retired military personnel, or that students receive military training which is paid for by the Ministry of National Education. These examples are peripheral, and do not even begin to address the question. Probably more significant, but much more elusive to establish, are the economic investment programs that are implemented for the benefit of the military, even though the civil sector may in part also benefit from them. The second type of clue may lie in the prices that the Ministry of National Defense has to pay for its arms, equipment, materials, and food. These could be fixed at a comparatively low level and thus keep the total defense budget figure low. The difference in prices paid and the cost of production can thus be equalized by the provision of government subsidies to that production sector, or by covering the losses made by a particular

enterprise when supplying the military sector, by charging the civil sector correspondingly higher prices. Finally, production for the military sector may not be subject to full taxation. This seems to have been indicated by the ZYCIE WARSZAWY article on the tank factory in Labedy, from which it appeared that production destined for the military is subject to reduced income tax.

Prices for commodities in Poland tend to be set arbitrarily if not to say haphazardly. In this situation it is quite clear that neither the quartermaster general of the Polish Army nor the director of the military department in the Planning Commission knows the true extent to which the national economy is weighed down by the demands of military production. There is no doubt that the true extent of this is considerably greater than official statistics would have one believe.

The initial budget forecast of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the current year was set at Z459 billion. This is an astonishingly high sum, compared with the budget for the Polish Armed Forces, and works out at 47 percent of the latter. All the same, the Ministry of Internal Affairs does not have at its disposal of tanks, an air force, or submarines, nor does it conduct maneuvers on a large scale. One assumes, therefore, that the level of distortion inflicted on the national economy by the requirements of this particular government department is much less than that caused by the Ministry of National Defense. Nevertheless, the internal security expenditure is an area where one should seek to make financial cuts. Discussion of this problem is extremely difficult. The ambiguity of official statements issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, compared to similar statements concerning the Armed Forces made by the Ministry of National Defense, make the latter the height of candor. Facts concerning the forces that are designed to control their own citizens are shrouded by greater mystery than the Armed Forces, who are there to protect us from the external enemy. The number of police (without the intelligence and counterintelligence services) works out at 170 for every 100,000 inhabitants, which after calculation gives 64,000 police nationwide, and in Warsaw, a city of 1.7 million inhabitants, about 3,000 police.

If we assume that the true numbers of personnel employed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs remains in the same proportion to the official figures given for this ministry's expenditure as for the official figures given for the Ministry of National Defense, then this would produce a figure of about 160,000. It is quite likely that this figure is also on the low side, bearing in mind the smaller expenditure on equipment. It has to be revised to somewhere between 200,000 and 300,000 people, and thus has to be increased by 100,000 to 200,000 more than the ministry spokesman admits. Apart from the fire brigades, and the "organs of intelligence and counterintelligence" (without doubt organs of state security) we have

to include internal armed forces, the border patrol service, which are both excluded from the NATO-Warsaw Pact comparisons, and also the Motorized Units of the Citizens Militia.

It has been stated many times that the numbers of the police are too low compared to the needs, positions remain unfilled, and that making cuts in the budget of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will only lead to a rise in crime. These are arguments which contain elements of truth and elements of deception. They are true to the extent that the precinct police stations are in a bad state, people do not want to do this type of police work, and the morale of the ordinary police force is at a low ebb. They are deceptive to the extent that the argument conceals the fact that here we are not talking about the criminal or the ordinary police force. The poor conditions in which the ordinary police force finds itself is in a large measure due to the fact that the main expenditure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs avoids it altogether and goes to the forces of repression and intelligence. The close organizational mesh between the ordinary police and the internal security organs is the reason why public opinion does not distinguish the essential difference between the local police patrolman and the internal security agent. The result is that the social esteem of the local policeman suffers.

The last point merits further consideration. In many countries, in contrast to Poland, the various types of security and order services—the ordinary law and order police, intelligence and counterintelligence services, the political police, riot police, and antiterrorist units—are usually subject to different executive authorities. In democratic countries, the rights of citizens are additionally protected by the splitting up of the authority and command over the internal security forces, thus avoiding an undue concentration of power. This division of the internal security services allows all those areas that require strict security to be closely defined. It also eases the job of public and parliamentary control over the way that these security services make use of the public money allocated to them.

A discussion about money is therefore unavoidably a discussion about politics. The present world climate is favorable to the reduction of military expenditure, and in Poland there is hope that we are entering a period where we can resolve our conflicts in a civilized manner, and not by brute force. A budget deficit situation is one of the main causes of inflation which is weakening the country. The suggestion that at this particular time we should also try to make savings in military and police expenditure must not be taken as a veiled attempt to weaken the state. It deserves very serious consideration and debate, and the latter demands that public matters are not made taboo.

President's Press Spokesman Interviewed

*LD3108100389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
2050 GMT 29 Aug 89*

[Text] [Presenter] Wlodzimierz Lozinski, the president's press spokesman, met journalists at his first press conference. However, his first interview in his new role was granted to "Echo of the Day" program correspondent Mieczyslaw Marciniak:

[Begin recording] [Marciniak] Welcome to our program in your new role, and congratulations on your debut.

[Lozinski] Thank you very much.

[Marciniak] On many occasions you commented on domestic and international events in our television news and commentaries. Please tell us, will meetings like the one today be regular? Are you going to meet journalists often?

[Lozinski] I think they should not be regular, but rather occasional, and should be connected with events concerning the president, and our country in the national dimension, and of interest to all Poles. This is my intention, and I think that the president would share it.

[Marciniak] I understand that the reason for today's meeting is the ceremonies connected with the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

[Lozinski] Of course, that is why at the beginning I spoke about the program of these ceremonies and, above all, about the message which should reach the nations of Europe and the states of anti-Hitler coalition from Poland, a message from Poland which should speak about the fact that the activity of our country, the will of our citizens, and the thoughts of the president at this moment are directed both toward the past and the future. They are directed toward the past in the sense that they concern a tribute to the victims of that war, Polish victims and victims from other nations. They are directed toward the future in the sense that we should never again allow a repeat of such a tragedy. This is the sense of the celebrations, and this is the sense of the president's participation in the ceremonies.

[Marciniak] Many questions addressed to you contained requests for a reply about how the President's Office will be organized. I know that you avoided answering them, because this is at the stage of organization. However, what can one reveal at this stage?

[Lozinski] Sir, I did not avoid answering them. In fact organizational work is being carried out at the moment. One can reveal that the president will have several ministers of state to help him, and that he will have only a few teams, small teams, which will help him in performing his constitutional duties. These duties are numerous and they are treated in the Constitution and all laws in a manner corresponding to the current situation in our country, and prospects for development of political and social events in our country. So, there will

be a lot of work, and what I have said reveals the secret to a great extent—perhaps not a secret—but it anticipates the process of the organization of the President's Chancellery and its various agencies.

[Marciniak] I know that you have extensive experience as a journalist—a foreign correspondent for various mass media, including radio and television. [Lozinski] I was not entirely successful, but I tried to be quicker than the translations of the questions, answering immediately when the questions were asked, for example, in English. Yes, but I will improve.

[Marciniak] I noticed that you speak several languages fluently. Please tell us the secret. How many languages does the spokesman of the president of the Polish People's Republic speak?

[Lozinski] Five languages. The strangest one is, perhaps, Swedish, which is less popular in Poland.

[Marciniak] Thank you very much, and we wish you a lot of success in your new function.

[Lozinski] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Rakowski, Rau Meet; Comment on Talks

*LD3108112989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] A meeting was held today at the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee building between Johannes Rau, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Our reporter Magdalena Winiarczyk asked the guest for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Winiarczyk] May I ask for a brief ad hoc comment on your meeting? [Rau in German with superimposed translation into Polish] I last met Mr Rakowski in February of this year in Bonn and that meeting was of extraordinary importance to Polish-West German relations. The occasion for that meeting was the 75th birthday of Willy Brandt. Mr Rakowski held talks then with all the leading FRG politicians. This time it was important for Mr Rakowski to present the current situation in Poland, in particular after my talks in Warsaw yesterday with representatives of other political forces. I received quite a lot of important extra information. [end recording]

Mieczyslaw Rakowski said this to our reporter.

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] I am, of course, pleased with my meeting with Mr Rau, as I have known him, as he said, (?since) we spoke in the FRG. I know that he is watching the development of the situation in Poland with great interest and has been doing so over the past few years. We have always seen him as a friend, a man who has no reservations whatsoever as regards the development of relations between SPD and the PZPR and the FRG and Poland. This is being confirmed today in his visit here, to our party Central Committee building. We

spoke about Polish matters, it is my duty to give explanations and information. [words indistinct] what can I say? Well, friends have met, they have known each other for a long time, and have had good contacts. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Receives SPD's Rau

LD3008181789 Warsaw PAP in English
1709 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today Premier of the Land Government of North Rhine-Westphalia, Deputy Chairman of SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] Johannes Rau.

The talks, devoted to bilateral cooperation, were attended by a large group of German industrialists.

On Wednesday Johannes Rau was also received by Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski. During the meeting the two exchanged views on vital issues of Polish-FRG bilateral relations, especially on new forms of development of economic cooperation.

Minister Olechowski highly assessed the pioneer contribution of FRG social democrats to the cause of normalization and agreement between the two states and their societies. He also stressed the importance of the moral factor in relations between Poles and Germans in the FRG in light of the tragic burden of the past.

FRG's Rau Urges Help for Mazowiecki Government

LD3108092889 Warsaw PAP in English
2212 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—whoever would have said a year ago that a government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki can be formed in Poland would be considered a fantasy. We have to help this government and I shall seek help for it among Western politicians, Premier of the Land Government of North Rhine-Westphalia and Deputy Chairman of SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] Johannes Rau told a press conference here today. Rau visits Poland in connection with the 50th anniversary of World War 2.

Although the Polish grand coalition government is still unknown, Rau said, the West should give it a chance. We in the Federal Republic want to have considerable share in this help. We also want to clear the way from what still burdens our mutual relations.

Referring to the anniversary of the outbreak of World War 2, Rau said among other things, that all forces in the FRG should help improve the relations with Poland and quickly set good conditions for a Polish visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Answering another question which referred to last February's visit of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to the FRG, when press reports announced a breakthrough in mutual

relations, Rau stressed that the visit had produced considerable effects but a breakthrough is likely soon.

Banks Trying To Attract FRG Investors

AU3008155789 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Aug 89 p 23

["pp" report: "Polish Bank Offers High Deutsche-Mark Interests"]

[Excerpts] Frankfurt, 29 August—The political reforms in Poland and the efforts to reorganize the economy obviously also make the capital market of the East Block country more attractive. In any case, an increasing number of German investors put money on deutsche-mark foreign exchange accounts in Poland. So far, about \$4 billion have been paid into these accounts. Investors with liquid resources are being courted by some Polish banks; recently Pekao Foreign Trade Limited, the German subsidiary of Polska Kasa Opieki SA (PKO) with seat in Frankfurt, has started to do so. [passage omitted]

At present, it pays 6 percent in interest if the capital is tied up for 6 months, and 7 percent if it is tied up for 1 year. The institute pays an annual interest rate of 8 to 9 percent to those investors who tie their money for 2 or 3 years. [passage omitted]

However, investors have to incur a higher risk than in the FRG if they invest their money in Poland. [passage omitted] In view of its foreign debts, which amount to about \$40 billion, Poland is considered an uncertain debtor country on the international financial markets. However, payments of interests and capital of private accounts have always been punctual so far. [passage omitted]

DP Plans Ties With Western Political Parties

LD3108192989 Warsaw PAP in English
1723 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—Following are excerpts of a statement conveyed Thursday to PAP by the press spokesman for the Democratic Party (DP) CC [Central Committee]:

"The DP, actively taking part in a profound reform of Polish political and economic life, expresses its firm conviction that the success of these processes will depend on preservation of the international stability and Poland's political and military alliances in particular.

"It is our party's intention to support the implementation of such goals of Poland's foreign policy through the further development of cooperation with its traditional partners: The Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany SED [as received], the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and

other parties of socialist countries including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with which the DP is establishing direct contacts.

"With greater intensity we will develop contacts with those political forces of capitalist countries which are ideologically close to us. We maintain close cooperation with many of them—with the West German party of Free Democrats FDP for one—on the basis of the similarity of programs, the place of our countries on the political map and the role we play.

"The imperative of DP's activity in the international arena has been and will be strengthening of peaceful relations between states and the idea of constructing a common European house in particular."

Mazowiecki Receives Belgian, European Officials

LD3008143289 Warsaw PAP in English
1203 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today President of the Socialist Party of Belgium and President of the Socialist Union of Western Europe Guy Spiteales.

Present was Belgium's Ambassador to Poland Thierry de Gruben.

Mazowiecki Receives U.S. Official

LD3008180989 Warsaw PAP in English
1718 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today U.S. Secretary of Veterans' Affairs Edward Derwinski.

The talk, devoted to various questions related to Polish-American cooperation, was attended by U.S. Ambassador to Poland John Davis.

Mazowiecki Holds News Conference After Election

AU3008142689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
25 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[News conference given to Polish and foreign journalists by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the Office of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 24 August]

[Text] PAP—On 24 August, 3 hours after his election by the Sejm, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with journalists at a news conference.

The new government chief's first meeting with press representatives met with enormous interest. Several hundred domestic and foreign representatives of television and radio stations, press agencies, and newspapers from all over the world assembled in the Column Hall of the Office of the Council of Ministers. The meeting with the premier, which lasted over 1 hour, was chaired by Deputy Jacek Ambrosiak.

Here are the questions and answers, as reported by PAP journalists.

Bogumil Luft, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC: Last year, in May and August, you were at Gdansk Shipyard during the strikes. Those strikes ended without any accord being reached, especially the ones in May. The workers gave up all the things that had been proposed because nobody wanted to talk to them about Solidarity's legalization. A picture of those workers leaving the shipyard was shown on the first page of the first issue of the resurrected TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. What would you like to say today to these young people with whom you left the Gdansk Shipyard?

Mazowiecki: My answer is plain and simple. We, or at least some of the workers, left full of pain, as if dismayed by the decision, though they quickly realized that it was an honorable exit. I do not think either they or I imagined that that exit would lead to my entry into this hall today. I greet them warmly!

Ryszard Naleszkiewicz, ZWIAZKOWIEC: Perhaps the country's greatest problem today is people's attitude to daily life, in other words the economy. Right now, the National Trade Union Confederation (OPZZ) and "Solidarity" trade unions are having more and more trouble with trade union discipline. People are taking less and less notice of trade union activists, and are resorting in despair to protest action instead. Will your government be able to guarantee an observance of the law, or at least guarantee that strikes take place according to the law?

Mazowiecki: I think one has to hope, and I would like to express such a hope. I have in mind people who will read the transcript of this news conference and those who are either on strike or intend to do so, and want to ask this government permission to assemble and commence activity. To answer the question whether strikes should take place in accordance with the law, let me say that I was joint chairman of the "roundtable" Trade Union Team, and that we raised the issue of strikes while amending the trade union act. In the end, only a so-called minor amendment was made, whereas a major one is now ahead of us. This amendment should make the law different to the way it is right now, when people are forced to circumvent the law and the authorities are forced to tolerate that. When amending the law, one must arrive at an appropriate solution to this problem.

Teleexpress: Do you share the opinion that it is not the distribution of portfolios in your cabinet that will determine the success of your government, but society's conviction and the nation's patience? I mean public confidence in your government.

Mazowiecki: I think the proper information policy will have an important bearing here. Like I said, I would like this government to tell society the truth, even if the truth is difficult and complicated. Therefore, information policy will have major influence.

Anna Grzegorzczak, PAP: Referring to the previous question about strikes, have you not considered the possibility of appealing to all Poles and trade unions to stop strikes? Second, you have stressed many times the need to work out a regulatory program for the IMF. Why do you think it so important? Third, could you define the concept "Polish *raison d'etat*?"

Mazowiecki: As far as appealing is concerned, forgive me, but I have only just been elected by the Sejm, and I have had no chance to consider the matter because the past few days have been extremely busy ones. I expect understanding, without any special appeals.

As for the second question about the regulatory program, this is urgent because there is an IMF session scheduled for the beginning of September, and Poland will have to present a stance there. I think Poland's special situation caused by the formation of a new government will make it possible for Poland to postpone presenting a stance for a while. As far as the Polish *raison d'etat* is concerned, allow me to refer you to my Sejm speech. I think I referred to it in that speech.

Poul Smidt, Danish Radio and Television: Have you had any contact with foreign governments since your appointment? Have you had any congratulatory telegrams from major countries, and have you been in touch with Lech Walesa?

Mazowiecki: As we know, before my appointment I received telegrams from the French prime minister and foreign minister. Today, before coming to this news conference, I read the first telegram sent to me as premier. It is from the premier of the GDR.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: With what kind of people are you going to draft an economic rescue program, and to what extent will this program be based on the advice of Professor Sachs?

Mazowiecki: Please give me a chance, I am unable to answer that question today, because it takes time to find the right people and to examine the program of Professor Sachs, who is in Poland right now, but whom I have not been able to meet yet. Right now I can give no binding answer to your question.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: Because you are the first Catholic Polish premier in decades, I would like to ask you about the separation of church functions from state functions. Do you see a greater role for the church in the sphere of education, and how will the government's view of abortion, a subject which has been under discussion for a long time, be publicized?

Mazowiecki: I have said many times that I have opposed the idea of a world-outlook state for many years. I have no intention of seeing one concept of world-outlook state replaced by another concept. Besides, that would clash with the church's teaching. Education is of course a very important topic, and it is very important to influence a proper solution to problems, especially moral ones. To

answer your second question, as a Catholic I am against abortion and for the protection of life. However, I believe life should be protected by preventive measures, not punitive ones.

USA TODAY: Do you plan to visit Moscow or Washington in the next few months?

Mazowiecki: Right now I do not plan anything. First I have to form a government. However, of course I will willingly go to Moscow, and I will very willingly go to Washington, if Poland requires it.

Zygmunt Slomkowski, TRYBUNA LUDU: By the nature of things, decisions by your cabinet will determine the direction of sociopolitical development. How do you see this development right now? Society is probably waiting for the government's first decisions with impatience. What should be the first decisions on the subject of the important issues which you mentioned in your Sejm speech?

Mazowiecki: As far as the paths of sociopolitical development are concerned, basically you will find the answer in my Sejm speech. This applies to the shaping of a law-governed state and a proper shaping and employment of public information, so that there be no monopoly over information, but pluralism instead. As far as the first economic decisions are concerned, I am only just learning how to make them. I want to be reticent in the making of declarations. My first task is to form a government. I am not going to make it look as if I already have the first decisions ready, because that would be irresponsible. Perhaps I will be able to answer in a few days time, but not today.

SPANISH PRESS AGENCY: Twenty years ago in Spain, a process of change toward today's democracy commenced. Do you see any similarity between processes in Spain and Poland today, or between past processes?

Mazowiecki: There were similarities concerning the growth of democracy. However, political conditions were widely divergent.

L'EXPRESS: How do you view your personal relations with President Jaruzelski as far as the Constitution and executive power are concerned?

Mazowiecki: I think my task and duty as premier is to fully respect the president's powers, and I will do so. I think that the reverse is also true—the president will fully respect the premier's powers. My first contacts with the president permit me to hope that this is how relations between us will be.

THE NEW YORK TIMES: You said that information policy will exert real influence on the government's work. What is your view concerning the appointment of a chairman of the Radio and Television Committee?

Mazowiecki: My view is that radio and television should be pluralistic. However, as far as personnel and the

political structure is concerned, I will present the facts when I have established this structure.

Polish Television News: At your meeting with the Parliamentary Citizens Club yesterday, you said you would take advantage of public opinion when making important decisions. Do you foresee any referendum in, for example, economic matters, for it is increasingly obvious that consent is required in order to make some social sacrifices?

Mazowiecki: Yes, I am also considering such an instrument. I still do not know if it would be the right instrument to adopt. I do not know if people really would express their views in a referendum, or whether they are so discouraged that they would not go to vote at all. I must examine this issue and seek the advice of economists and sociologists. But apart from the referendum, my intention is that the government be well informed, and, just as important, that the government receive truthful information. It is exceedingly important for the government not to base its decisions on false ideas served to it on a plate, and I will see to it that that does not happen.

ECHO KRAKOWA: Although this was a very hectic day, apparently you had time to drop into your new office together with your sons. What did you feel? What did you talk about? My second question concerns economic matters. Despite the grave economic crisis in which the country finds itself and the program for overcoming the crisis that you will adopt, will you be inclined to adhere to the obligations made by the previous authorities—that is to say, the previous government and Sejm—concerning state finance and assistance for saving Krakow's historic buildings?

Mazowiecki: Krakow occupies such a valuable place in our national culture that I would be the last person to abandon the commitments that have already been made. As for your first question, well, I wanted to find out what the office was like. I noticed that it was rather dark, that the windows were small, but it is spacious. I was rather struck by the enormous size of the building. I would say that I would like to retain the human dimension in that labyrinth of various passages.

Piotr Wilczynski, DPA: Mr Premier, it is now 19 years since the signing of the treaty between Poland and the FRG in Warsaw. Since then relations between the two states have been the subject of various shifts, and so far there has been no question of the breakthrough that one would like to see. What do you think that Poles and Germans should do to prevent shifts of this kind, the sudden improvements and downturns, and produce a breakthrough?

Mazowiecki: I think that we should move away from the short-term approach to our relations, and that it is very important to make a further move toward reconciliation and cooperation, especially economic cooperation. As far as I know, we were very close to achieving this recently, but then there was a move backward, and I

regret that. I think and would like to hope that there will be progress now, and that will be the intention of the government that I will form.

KURIER POLSKI: Mr Premier, what part of the SD program would you like to introduce into the government program as being of key importance.

Mazowiecki: I think that we will have talks on this subject with the SD representatives who will join the government. They, above all, will put forward what they consider to be of key importance under their own program. At this moment in time, during our preliminary talks, we have been discussing general issues, questions such as economic development, the private sector, handicrafts, and observance of the law, but I think that SD representatives themselves will determine what they themselves consider to be priorities and should be introduced into the government program.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: Do you have any plans for promoting an understanding of Polish affairs in Czechoslovakia or Romania, especially following that RUDE PRAVO statement that your election constitutes a nail in the coffin of socialism?

Mazowiecki: I do not know about those statements, although I am aware that remarks to that effect are being made. I am ready to speak and listen to everyone and to promote mutual understanding, and as the premier of the government legally elected by parliament, the Polish Sejm, I will represent the government in relations with all countries, with all our neighbors, regardless of this or that statement made by this or that paper. I hope that all misunderstandings in this area will be cleared up.

Brazilian journalist: Do you think that Poland has some kind of moral obligation to repay its debts?

Mazowiecki: I think that debts have to be repaid, but I also think, and this is not just my personal view, but a view expressed by the highest moral authorities in the contemporary world, or perhaps I could say the highest moral authority, that the debt question merits reflection and that it also contains important elements of injustice in international relations. So, if you ask me, my answer is that debts have to be repaid. Every state and government is obliged to do so, but efforts should also be made in international relations to view the problem from the moral angle, as well as the economic one, that is, the angle of economic efficiency, which should be viewed in a new way so that debts do not have a stranglehold effect on the possibilities that debtor countries have for economic development.

Tomasz Karpinski, "Solidarity" Union Research Center: Could you address two or three words to "Solidarity" members throughout Poland, convey to them your initial reflections?

Mazowiecki: I already spoke to "Solidarity" television, addressing the members of "Solidarity." At this moment, following my election, I would convey to them, to all my

friends and colleagues, cordial wishes, and would like to ask them to give me maximum support in this difficult role that I have taken on.

Jan Sek, representative of a private foreign press agency: Mr Premier, one can discern several schools of thought in the search for a recipe for getting out of the crisis. For example, one such school pins hopes on foreign aid. A second school sees opportunities in activating the population's foreign currency resources

Mazowiecki: I think that we should make use of both these sources, both these possibilities. Foreign journalist [not further identified]: You said that Poland will respect current commitments and maintain Poland's position in the Warsaw Pact. I would like this to be perfectly clear. Could you explain how you view the question of respecting membership of the Warsaw Pact, especially in light of Poland's recent pursuit of a policy of support for pro-reform movements in countries such as Czechoslovakia. Do you think that membership and respect for Warsaw Pact membership is incompatible with support for reformist forces in the most dogmatic countries that belong to your pact?

Mazowiecki: I do not think that people striving for reform in the socialist countries should be immediately considered opponents of the Warsaw Pact, or people who want to undermine it. In general, I would like to reaffirm what I said in the Sejm, and I have nothing to add on this matter.

CORRIERE DELLA SERA: Have you received any telegrams or expressions of joy from the Vatican?

Mazowiecki: I will tell you at the end of this conference.

PALESTINIAN PRESS AGENCY: When do you foresee the formation of the Council of Ministers? In the face of a new Poland and new coalition, what will Polish foreign policy be like? Will there be any changes to it?

Mazowiecki: I have already spoken about this. I would very much like to be able to form a government by the end of August. However, this is too short a period of time, and I do not know whether I will manage to do it by then. I will see in the next few days. So far I have held general talks. However, as they say, the devil lurks in details, and I may encounter various difficulties. Apart from that there are technical difficulties on account of the planned meeting of young parliamentarians that is due to take place in the Sejm at the same time.

Aleksander Wiczorkowski, chairman of the Polish Journalists Association: You spoke about information policy. The next 1 and 1/2 hour "Solidarity" radio program will be broadcast next Wednesday. All other radio programs are still under the control of Urban, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, who is a pro-reformist force. However, do you not think that until such time as there is complete pluralism inside the Radio and Television Committee, it might be possible to find next week, a period so important for the shaping of public opinion

in Poland, another person who has the same pro-reformist leanings as the present chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, but who does not represent, if I may say so, the previous government?

Mazowiecki: I have only been in office for a few hours, and I cannot deal with everything. Please understand that certain government affairs are still in motion, that ministers of the previous government are still in office. I cannot take over yet, otherwise I would never be able to form a government. However, I hope to have access to television during the period of time you mention.

LA STAMPA: How would you define your government? Is it a tripartite coalition, or perhaps a quadripartite coalition? Perhaps it is a grand coalition?

Mazowiecki: The talks are still in progress. The first step in forming this government was provided by Lech Walesa, "Solidarity" chairman. He is the main author of this breakthrough. He is its political creator. The next step was provided by the joint statement of the chairmen of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and Democratic Party [SD]. Therefore, this small coalition is the point of departure for forming a government that will be open to all the political forces represented in parliament. I tend to use the term broad coalition. However, it is not terminology that is important, but the fact that the political principle behind the formation of government has changed. No longer is authority held and the government formed by a single party. That is a momentous change that has come about thanks to the establishment of this coalition. What will the government be like, and how broad will it be? Please be patient a little longer. We will only know after further talks.

BBC Radio: Are you satisfied with the level of aid that President Bush offered to Poland, or would you have liked more?

Mazowiecki: I would like this aid to expand just like economic cooperation, and I will see that it does.

[Unattributed question] Before General Kiszczak's premiership ended in failure, there were already plans to create institutions like a state assets administration (meant to control the limits of privatization or sales of state assets to foreign economies), or a state investments agency, bodies meant to be under the direct control of parliament. Has there been any change to this situation? Do you foresee any institutions that will be beyond the government's control, but will be under parliament's control instead?

Mazowiecki: I think there is some mistake. The Foreign Investments Agency exists already, and is under the government's control, not parliament's. Of course institutions under parliamentary control are possible. The question is open, but it is nevertheless controversial. I will examine it from the angle of efficiency, taking the wishes and tasks of the Sejm into account.

L'AVENIRE: As we know, the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs are already reserved in your cabinet. Is this not a restriction on the premier's freedom of action? Could such restrictions also be imposed on international relations, and therefore can your government be considered a provisional one? **Mazowiecki:** We will indeed aim toward the situation where a political force is in power at one time and in opposition at another time, and where all the political arrangements are subject to change, just like in a democratic system. We are on the road toward such a situation in Poland, but that is as far as we have got for the time being. Not everything is clear and simple in this respect. We cannot do everything at once. I think the step we are taking is a great step, whose importance has to be seen and appreciated. However, one cannot expect everything to be achieved at once. In this sense, the government will be provisional. I do not know how long it will be in power, and it is difficult to make a forecast. From a political angle, however, it will be a provisional government in the sense that it will lead to a further expansion of democracy and to a higher qualitative stage in its development.

Polish Radio: You are about to head the fourth in a succession of governments that has claimed to be reformist. The three previous ones failed to manage and succumbed to pressure from various lobbies and work forces. Do you consider yourself and your government to be a government of reformist managers, or a caretaker government?

Mazowiecki: When two people say the same thing, they do not necessarily mean the same. Therefore I am reluctant to agree with your description of a fourth reformist government. However, without retracting from the reformist intentions of other governments, this government will have a different political composition, and this is important in order to understand what this government will be. Regardless of its composition, it is not a government that bears responsibility for the bad economic situation it has inherited. To answer the second part of your question, without blurring the difference between a government of managers and a caretaker government, neither of these two descriptions seem appropriate. That does not mean that harsh decisions will not be necessary. But it also does not mean that this government will be able to ignore social problems.

TRYBUNA OPOLSKA: I come from Silesia, from where more and more people are emigrating to the FRG. A completely new issue has made itself felt in this region recently—the question of a German minority. More and more people are signing their names on the appropriate lists. An application to register this minority was rejected by the regional court, and the dossier is in the hands of the Voivodship Court in Opole. I would like your opinion of this matter, especially on the subject of the German minority.

Mazowiecki: I think the real needs and rights of all cultural minorities, including the German minority,

have to be seen and recognized. The eyes of the government should be open to this. However, we know there are other reasons why such issues are brought to light, one of which could be the huge difference between the standard of living in the FRG and in Poland. Therefore the problems have to be seen in the correct proportions. Apart from that, one hopes that the young generation, including in Silesia, will see chances and possibilities in Poland.

Canadian television: As head of government, would you consider holding completely free parliamentary elections before 1992?

Mazowiecki: It is not in my power to move up parliamentary elections.

Correspondent from Taiwan: As we know, some East European countries have tightened their trade contacts with the Far East. Will your government examine this issue, and are you considering ways of increasing trade between Poland and the countries of this region, for example Taiwan?

Mazowiecki: Please be a little patient. I hope the minister of foreign trade of the government I am forming will be able to answer that question soon. As far as general trends are concerned, we consider it very advantageous to Poland to maximize economic cooperation with every country, including yours.

Marek Niedzwiecki, GAZETA MLODYCH: As premier, do you approve of removing political organizations from work places?

Mazowiecki: I have already said that I believe personal capability should determine promotion and the scope of powers in a factory. I would ask you not to exacerbate the situation by creating an atmosphere of threats, dangers, and so on in my first few hours of office, because that could be a big burden on the basic tasks which the new government must perform.

Teresa Krzemien, ODRODZENIE: How much time are you giving yourself to discover whether the [Polish] Republic can be repaired?

Mazowiecki: I do not know. I think I will be able to answer some other time. Right now I am interested in knowing whether some sort of psychological breakthrough will occur in Poland, whether people will understand that a new chance, a new chapter, is opening up. Very much depends on that. Later I will check how much time I should give myself.

AP: Until now, the Politburo has played a major role in shaping government policy. To what extent will your government refer to the Politburo?

Mazowiecki: That depends to what extent the PZPR assumes responsibility for this government's work. The establishment of relations depends on this. In any case, it is difficult to overlook the role played by that party and

its leadership. I cannot imagine a total absence of relations with it, even if there is an absence of joint responsibility. I think the problems of joint responsibility will be resolved when the government is formed.

Leszek Luczak, WPROST: The success of every government depends to a major extent on the efficiency and loyalty of the administrative apparatus. You have inherited an apparatus that was formed by other political structures. Do you think this apparatus will have to be changed, and if so, to what extent?

Mazowiecki: I think that this fundamental change, especially at the lowest levels, will happen with the restoration in Poland of regional self-government. I shall be striving for this. I intend to have in my cabinet a minister without portfolio who will be responsible for matters of territorial self-government in order to begin preparing the ground at the earliest possible moment for the reform of this whole area. This is the base that will facilitate real reforms. I want to repeat that in general I shall be looking for competence and loyalty to the government I shall form.

PALESTINIAN PRESS AGENCY: I did not receive an answer to my second question, namely, will there be a change in Polish foreign policy?

Mazowiecki: Changes could occur in the sense that there will be an intensification of international relations, especially in the economic sphere. In this sense I would like to see such an intensification. The general line of our foreign policy, and the policy which is linked to our membership of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and those elements that relate to the policy of cooperation, especially the building of a great Europe and European cooperation, will not change, but be intensified. Everyone is now agreed that the era of forming blocs has passed, and we are in the era of mutual opening up, in particular, the building of European cooperation, which the government that I shall form will want to intensify.

Boleslaw Jaszczuk, PLOMIENIE: I would like to return to those matters which you have mentioned, namely the question of loyalty and consistency in the organs of state administration. In what way will the government try to ensure this? Mazowiecki: I will be demanding loyalty to the government which I shall form, and to the state, and not to any party.

LE MONDE: Do you intend to abolish censorship?

Mazowiecki: Censorship is not a sphere that is under my control. It is under the control of the president. Further, it will be a matter for the Sejm to decide.

Stanislaw Jadczyk, SZTANDAR LUDU: You talked about the relationship of the state to national minorities in Poland. I want to ask you about the relationship of the government to Polish communities abroad.

Mazowiecki: I think that as yet I cannot say anything more, other than broadly generalize that this matter is of great interest to us and to the government. The Sejm and Senate

have formed a special commission on this, and the works and concerns of the government that I shall be leading will be closely linked to the works of this commission.

Pawel Lawinski, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC: What is the greatest threat to the new government?

Mazowiecki: It appears to me that the greatest threat to the new government lies in the danger that we may not all accept the fact of the difficult situation that the government is in, the exceptionally difficult problems it has to solve, especially in the first phase. If instead of a certain amount of patience for the problems it has to tackle, we witness a manifestation of great restlessness, especially uncontrollable processes of mutual antipathy or hate, then this could make impossible all that I want to achieve. I say this with all sincerity and candor. Poland needs a new climate. There are many wrongs seething under the surface in this nation and everyone must strive to form new mutual relations. If we succeed, then I have the hope that we, together with all these changes, will successfully emerge on the right road. If however, we descend into mutual antipathy and hate in settling our accounts, this will pose a great threat to the road we are setting out on. I am counting on this new climate and I see a green light for Polish hopes, a green light that each one of us must bring about by struggling for the democratic and economic transformations in Poland. We have to fight for something and not against somebody.

I said earlier that I would give the answer to one question at the end of this conference. I would like to add, talking of the first messages of congratulation, that I was pleased by the French message and I was equally pleased with the first message that I received from the GDR. In answering the question on the Vatican, I would like to tell you that after leaving this room I shall speak to the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II. Afterwards, the first premier from the ranks of "Solidarity" will join Lech Walesa.

I thank you all and I ask you to continue to take further interest, not in me personally, but in Poland and its joint problems. I ask you for your goodwill.

PZPR Secretary Krol on Party's Future

PM3108152289 Paris L'HUMANITE in French
29 Aug 89 p 14

[Interview with Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Secretary Marek Krol by Claude Marchand in Warsaw on 28 August]

[Text] Warsaw—In the interview which he granted to L'HUMANITE on Monday, Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Secretary Marek Krol, who is responsible for information and propaganda—he is a 36-year old journalist from a family of intellectuals in Poznan and he was given this post at the 13th plenum at the end of July—stated categorically: "We are not an opposition party. We intend to create a new government

formula with the other political forces and we are prepared to shoulder all our responsibilities."

According to him, the negotiations which have been started and which at present relate to structures and not to names, are not revealing any "major conflict between the PZPR and Solidarity." "This new government," he said, "plans to give six portfolios and a deputy prime minister's position to the PZPR." He explained that the main problems are related to the responsibility for the State Committee for Radio and Television and to the Foreign Ministry, the latter post being claimed by Solidarity, by the PZPR, and also by the United Peasant Party. With regard to the first case, he is optimistic: "I think that we will reach a compromise which respects pluralism—a principle which we were the first socialist country to introduce although we had a monopoly of the media. This consensus should be reached on a concept which safeguards Solidarity's identity and that of the party, and introduces a new value—competition in the media: each would have its own program, with a television news program which reflected the views of the government led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and another which reflected the PZPR views." He did not make any pronouncement on the second problem, but noted that "the presence of a Communist in the Foreign Affairs Ministry would facilitate contacts with the socialist countries" and "would make it possible to take account of the expectations of neighboring countries with which we have important ties." "We are ready," he added, "for a far-reaching compromise if the interests of the nation and society require it. We do not intend to generate a conflict." What is the position with regard to the proposal for a government agreement? "We have drawn up a contract which Tadeusz Mazowiecki may reject. We are anxious that our cooperation should not be limited to a verbal statement, but that it should be confirmed in writing to ensure that the gradual nature of the changes is guaranteed." He hinted that this would also make it possible to reassure party cadres occupying posts in the state apparatus or local administration who feel that they are at the mercy of the new prime minister's decisions. "We do not intend," he immediately explained, "to defend incompetent people or those who have made mistakes, but we do not want a red witch-hunt. We must try to prevent the party nomenklatura from being replaced by Solidarity's nomenklatura. In view of the fact that the former was a bad thing—which we also say—its replacement by the other side's nomenklatura would not do any good."

Describing the new political situation and the PZPR decision to abandon its monopoly of power as historic, he said that "this creates certain opportunities, but it does not give a guarantee, whereas we have hitherto had guarantees without having taken advantage of the opportunities." In these circumstances, how can participation in a government, which will certainly have to make unpopular decisions, be reconciled with the need for the

party to struggle politically to defend the workers' interests, he was asked. After stressing that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government will face the same dilemma as Mieczyslaw Rakowski's government which, he noted, "failed in its attempt to change the country's economy from the centralized system to market forces," he said that "the party should not hamper but help" the economic reform process. It should do so, he said, "even if that prompts strong reactions from professional groups which feel that their living standard is threatened or which feel threatened by unemployment." "We do not intend to act as observers or critics. The important thing to help the party to safeguard its political identity is to ensure that these changes in the economic sphere are not made at the expense of the social groups which form its grass roots. However, this does not mean that we must adhere to dogmatic principles at all costs."

Marek Krol protested the idea upheld by some people in the party, who were accused of being "Stalinists," that this is the end of socialism in Poland. "On the contrary, I am convinced that the current changes can be part of the process of renewing socialism, and of the new concept of the socialist state." According to him, the party has lived in "a comfortable, safe situation" for too long and has "been demagnetized." "I think that this new situation give it a great opportunity to continue to be a party fighting for its influence in society and not a party of officials." He noted with pleasure that in his generation and the previous one "especially in intellectual circles, a new spirit has emerged—the desire to struggle."

Referring to preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress which he thinks should be held next spring at the earliest, he said that the idea that "it is a bad thing to have currents, different platforms, and divisions within the party" must be abandoned. "This has led the party to decline and has placed people like Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik in opposition because they could not fulfill themselves within its structures." Stressing the efforts made by new PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski to "inspire and activate the different groups which function in the party," he expressed the view that the "debate should be started before the congress to seek the optimum formula in the present situation." He thinks that each of these currents and groups should have its place at the congress "and also in the new leadership." He advocates "gradual changes here too, leading to the decentralization of the drafting of programs and a regionalization of the party's activity." If you mention to him the risk of the party splitting, he says that there is "indeed a danger but there is no alternative to the changes" already spelled out.

For him, the party's unity has so far been "artificial" and held together only by the "nomenklatura," in other words by "the 1 million party members—out of 2 million—who exercise leadership roles in society thanks to the party. Those people had a personal interest in behaving as very loyal PZPR members." "The people," he concluded, "will identify with the party when it expresses and realizes their interests, notably through its

deputies in the Sejm to which the center of power has been transferred. I think that the vast majority of PZPR members should understand that."

Rakowski Assesses Current Party Role

*LD3108184989 Warsaw PAP in English
1700 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[By PAP correspondent Bogdan Korneluk]

[Text] Sofia, Aug. 31—In an interview granted to the Bulgarian radio and television and press agency BTA—summaries of which were carried by Thursday's central press—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski devoted special attention to the conclusion voiced at the 14th party plenum that in the present circumstances neither PUWP nor Solidarnosc can alone, much less one against the other, get the country out of the present situation. That is why the partnership of the two forces is of vital importance.

"We are at the initial stage of a real cooperation," he said, "and a road to this will be neither easy nor short. It is good that the opposition comprises forces which deem such partnership necessary. It is a condition of settling the existing problems. PUWP's participation in the future government is indubitable."

The first secretary described the role of the party in the present situation. "What is needed is a longer period for party's restructuring, for restoring its fighting spirit," he said. "Despite difficulties and complex social processes now going on in the country, there is no real threat to the future of socialism in Poland. Poland will remain in the existing institutions and alliances. The PUWP and its leadership must act so as not to delay the socialist development," he said.

Orzechowski Calls for New Name for PZPR

*AU3108161389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Aug 89 p 1*

[Marek Pietrzala report: "Our True Worth Will Be Determined By the Level of Trust Society Places in Us"]

[Text] "In politics you must never burn your bridges" stressed Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club, during his meeting with Biala Podlaska Voivodship party activists on 28 August.

The discussion, which lasted many hours, was dominated by two groups of matters. The first consisted of the appraisal of the current work of the PZPR Deputies Club and matters related to the formation of the new government. The second consisted of an analysis of the present state of the party and the preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress.

Those who attended the meeting were not sparing in their words of criticism. Zdzislaw Pietruk said that, as a

voter, he was concerned by the passive attitude of the PZPR Deputies Club. Others in the meeting asked searching questions about the consequences of the disintegration of the old coalition. All those present were deeply interested in the divisions within the PZPR Deputies Club.

Marian Orzechowski disagreed with those criticizing the passive attitude of the PZPR deputies, pointing to the fact that to date about 20 various legislative projects had already been prepared by the club. In a short while they will also be presenting a bill on political parties. The club was also actively preparing questions to put to the new government.

The chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club stressed that the PZPR deputies had not turned their backs on their colleagues from the United Peasant Party or the Democratic Party, and were ready in the future to join with them in coalitions in order to solve real problems and to prepare further legislative initiatives.

"It is not just a matter of our party, it also concerns Poland's fate" stressed Marian Orzechowski. "We reject the slogan 'the worse it is, the better for us.' I believe that our true worth will be determined by the level of trust society places in us. I am full of cautious optimism. I do not see the future in dark colors, because society will need the party for as long as ideas of social justice remain dear to people," he stated.

Speaking about the preparation for the 11th PZPR Congress, Marian Orzechowski declared that he saw a need for the PZPR to change its name to the Polish Socialist Working Peoples Party.

PZPR Deputy on Supporting New Premier

*AU3008123289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Aug 89 p 5*

[Interview with Warsaw Sejm deputy Andrzej Wiczorkiewicz of the PZPR Deputies Caucus by Tomasz Szymanski: "Why Did We Vote 'For'"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Szymanski] Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] deputies were able to vote as they saw fit on Tadeusz Mazowiecki's election to the office of premier. Most of them came out in favor of his candidacy. What arguments were the deciding factor?

[Wiczorkiewicz] So far the new premier has put forward quite a general program for government activity. However, we have found that it contains elements that accord with our voters expectations, including those of party members. The program emphasizes economic recovery, the democratization of structures, and political restructuring. It is well known that the PZPR has resolutely come out in support of such a course of activity.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki has also been stressing the need to create a grand coalition, and that is another element that we also identify with.

So, that is why we decided to give our backing to the new premier.

[Szymanski] Being a journalist, I know that this is not an uncommon view within the party.

[Wieczorkiewicz] A certain reservoir of trust has been established. We will approach further decisions made by the premier rather more selectively, and we will, among other things, assess the extent to which deeds accord with words. It may turn out that the support provided by the overwhelming majority of deputies will not be limitless.

The way in which the government is formed and candidates are chosen for ministerial posts may prove to be a test case. Although the PZPR is undoubtedly experiencing an internal crisis, it is still an important political force in our country, and this should be reflected in the way in which portfolios are distributed within the framework of a broad coalition.

[Szymanski] What is the most important challenge that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government faces?

[Wieczorkiewicz] Economic issues constitute the first challenge. The state of the economy has not changed with the establishment of a new governing team. Overcoming the economic crisis will call for many consistent steps that will not always meet with everyone's approval. So, great competence and resolve is essential on the part of the members of the Council of Ministers.

The activities of forces that will seek to break up the coalition arrangement may pose a further challenge. Threats may come from various quarters. The premier and the government that he heads must display great resilience and not give in in the face of such action.

[Szymanski] To what extent is there support for the new government in the PZPR Deputies Caucus?

[Wieczorkiewicz] I closely identify with the formula according to which the degree of support and responsibility should correspond to the level of participation in the new government.

However, we will not remain passive with regard to reform-oriented action. We intend to shortly propose legislation that will, among other things, introduce changes into the administration and social security systems, as well as propose a law on political parties.

[Szymanski] Some opposition activists say that you are not a strong partner, because you are said to be at odds with the party leadership.

Behind the scenes in the Sejm there is a lot of talk of an "opposition faction" within the PZPR caucus, of "dissidents" and so on.

Caucus cooperation with the party leadership was the subject of one of our most recent caucus meetings. A special team has been set up to work out ways and means whereby contacts between caucus members and the PZPR leadership can be maintained. What gave rise to this need? Lack of experience. Most of us are serving as Sejm deputies for the first time. The party also lacks experience of partner-like cooperation with deputies. This causes friction. Many comrades have unpleasant recollections of the election campaign. Not all of them enjoyed the support of local party leaderships. They were the subject of manipulation. Once bitten twice shy.

However, these disagreements are not over fundamental principles. There are different views on ways of acting, and effectively achieving goals. We want to preserve our sovereignty. After all, we often have better information than members of the party apparatus. We have experience of political struggles. Sejm decisions often have to be made in the space of an hour. We want to be more involved in shaping decisions.

So, working out a suitable, appropriate place for the PZPR Deputies Caucus within the structure of the party has become an issue that has to be dealt with urgently.

PZPR 'Reformer' Kwasniewski on New Government

PM3008080889 Paris LE MONDE in French
26 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Polish United Workers Party "Reformer" Aleksander Kwasniewski by Sylvie Kauffmann in Warsaw on 24 August]

[Text] Warsaw—"If this experiment fails, it will mean that the socialist system cannot be reformed"—1 hour before the Sejm's investiture of the first noncommunist government chief in Poland for 40 years, Aleksander Kwasniewski, a young star of the communist party's reformist wing, assessed the chances of success for Polish-style cohabitation. "I think," he said, "that it can work, despite the dangers."

Minister of youth and sport and chairman of the outgoing government's sociopolitical commission, he is rumored, at the age of 35, to be a possible deputy prime minister in the Mazowiecki government which should comprise three deputy prime ministers, one for each of Solidarity's partners in the coalition. He is a lively, open, straightforward man, and on his desk he had the day's Soviet newspapers and a Solidarity election pamphlet under a paperweight.

The problem facing Poland, he told us, "is the transition from one form of government to another as peacefully as possible. The Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] and Solidarity agree on the need for this change. But, before the roundtable, Solidarity thought that it was necessary to change the system whereas a section of the PZPR

thought it should be reformed. Solidarity is now participating in the system...but this does not mean that this whole experiment will be a success."

Overcoming the Dismantling Phase

In Mr Kwasniewski's view, the PZPR leadership and General Jaruzelski "failed to understand the force of the electorate's will" in June and, by asking General Kiszczak to form a government, gave the Poles the impression "that nothing had changed; Solidarity should immediately have been asked to form a coalition government." But, according to him, Solidarity absolutely must include the PZPR in this government. "First, because the country's infrastructure, formed by the party in the security services, the administration, and the media, cannot be changed overnight. It must be reformed. Second, because of relations with the socialist countries and, above all, with our close neighbors—Czechoslovakia, and the GDR. The PZPR's presence in the government facilitates contacts with those countries.... The Soviet Union already has a great deal to do at home; as long as we do not present any military threat to the Warsaw Pact, Moscow is prepared to accept any respectable government provided it is not adventurist or a source of conflict."

With regard to the scale of the PZPR's participation in the government, Mr Kwasniewski thinks that it must not demand too many portfolios "because society must have the impression that it is different" from the previous governments. The nature of the ministries maintained matters more than their number: "Of course," he said, "if we have the defense, interior, foreign affairs, and television ministries, that is enough." Defense and foreign affairs, he said, are spheres "in which the party is well represented and over which President Jaruzelski has important prerogatives." With regard to television—a preferential propaganda tool—it will be the subject of "a major battle" and the solution may be to find it "a leader accepted by all the political forces."

How will the PZPR overcome this "phase of political dismantling in Poland?" "I think," the young official replied, "that the PZPR congress, which will be convened at the end of this year or the beginning of next year, will be the last. The forces which feel close to the socialist left will seek a different formula—that of a modern party which is part of the parliamentary scene."

PZPR Deputy on Constitution Amendment

PM3008102489 Paris LE FIGARO in French
28 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Deputy Marian Janusz Czerwinski by Jean-Jacques Mevel—date and place not given, first four paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], which is in a minority and forced to negotiate its place in a Solidarity-dominated government, is in a state of shock. In the 10 days which led to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's

election, the apparatus seemed hesitant, as if it could not cope with events. This may be the moment which the "reformers" were awaiting to come forward again.

Fifteen PZPR deputies (out of 173) have just submitted an amendment in the Sejm aimed at removing from the Constitution the article which gives the PZPR the "leadership role" in running the country. This is a symbolic act in a country in which the Communists have, in fact, just lost power.

These 15 deputies include Marian Janusz Czerwinski, an unusual figure. On his jacket lapel, above the party badge—two red flags on a gold background—he wears the badge of Solidarity—a trade union of which he has been a member since 1980.

In June, he was one of the few PZPR members to be elected a deputy in the first round, with Solidarity's support. In July, he was the only PZPR deputy to vote against General Jaruzelski's election to the presidency in a very tight ballot.

LE FIGARO: What is the reason for this amendment? Do you not think that you are "firing at an ambulance?"

Marian Tadeusz Czerwinski: Not at all. The PZPR must resume the initiative, it must show that it can change alone. It must act quickly, before the new majority (supporting Solidarity—LE FIGARO editor's note) decides to remove this article from the Constitution itself.

LE FIGARO: How many PZPR deputies support this amendment?

Marian Janusz Czerwinski: We have obtained the 15 signatures necessary for parliament to debate the plan. I think that there will be many more of us when it comes to a vote.

LE FIGARO: How is the party apparatus reacting?

Marian Janusz Czerwinski: Obviously PZPR First Secretary Rakowski is not happy, but others, like General Kiszczak, are more realistic.

LE FIGARO: In Hungary, reformers like Imre Poszgay have taken power within the party. How do you explain the fact that in Poland the PZPR adheres firmly to its conservative stances?

Marian Janusz Czerwinski: A distinction must be drawn between the party apparatus on the one hand and, on the other, the party members and deputies. The former still believes that it has a divine right to power. The latter, especially the younger people, share some of Solidarity's ideas. They want Poland to adopt a different course.

LE FIGARO: Is there a risk of a split between the conservatives and reformists?

Marian Janusz Czerwinski: It was the ultraconservative deputies who voted against Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and there were only four of them. However, on the other

hand, there is a group of at least 20 deputies who are waiting to see what happens to our amendment. For the time being, they are calm. But if the party refuses to budge, the question of a split could indeed arise. Comrade Rakowski must realize that it is now no longer the apparatus but the PZPR deputies who are going to take practical action in the political sphere. He must also realize that every time it speaks, the group of deputies to which I refer gains ground.

LE FIGARO: What role can the party play in Poland in the future?

Marian Janusz Czerwinski: At present the matter has not been settled between the conservatives and reformists. This could be decided at the next congress, the date of which still has to be fixed. Personally, I think that the PZPR ought to move closer to social democracy. A communist party in the strict sense of the term no longer has a place in Poland.

LE FIGARO: Do you regard yourself as a Communist?

Marian Janusz Czerwinski: No. Moreover, I never have been. I joined the party in 1969 because at the time it was a necessary means of bringing about some change in this country.

Plant Party Official on Meeting With Rakowski

PM2908091189 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA
in Polish 19-20 Aug 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with Zbigniew Lick, PZPR Enterprise Committee secretary at H. Cegielski Plant in Poznan, by GAZETA POZNANSKA correspondent 'KAN'; date, place not given]

[Text] This is what Zbigniew Lick, Cegielski's PZPR Enterprise Committee secretary and one of the participants in Thursday's meeting with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, told us:

[Correspondent] What was the objective of that meeting, the first between the newly-appointed party boss and secretaries of Poland's largest industrial enterprises?

[Lick] First and foremost to find an answer to the question: "What future lies ahead for the party?"—although we did not attempt to conceal our surprise at the fact that the Central Committee chose to ask this question of us, the party base, just now. After all, other important, albeit not always correct, decisions had only just been made without our participation or consultation. In any case, the meeting was not even called at the Central Committee's recommendation, but as an answer to an appeal from the Stalowa Wola Steelworks Enterprise Committee to the PZPR First Secretary in view of the critical situation in which the party found itself. I believe that the organizers of the meeting wanted to take stock of the situation, to assess the remaining potential of the party grassroots, to calculate the extent of our real power and to find out whether we were

offering our support to the new party leadership. I think that there was a certain misunderstanding there because we too had intended to ask questions rather than answer them. And so the main drift of the meeting became a settling of accounts while considerable resentment was felt about the fact that, to quote the participants, the leadership had "sold the party out."

[Correspondent] There is much excited speculation today on whether the party would be "shown the door" in enterprises. Did you talk about that too?

[Lick] It was, for obvious reasons, one of the main topics of the debate. We generally adopted the following position: The party should remain where its base was, and that certainly included the workplace too. We formulated that idea in a separate resolution which stipulates that the party should strive for upward-directed integration that must start at the grassroots and that it must oppose all dissenting and annihilatory tendencies.

[Correspondent] What practical conclusions did you reach that would, for example, be relevant to the party organization at the H. Cegielski Plant [HCP] in Poznan?

[Lick] Judging by what I heard about other enterprises, the situation at HCP is not too bad. There are places where the dissent is already profound and the future very uncertain if we consider the moods of unrest prevalent among the workforces. As for us, we have decided to make preservation of party unity our supreme objective at HCP. That is the spirit in which we intend to talk to our members.

[Correspondent] What about issues concerning the next party congress, or the question of party reorganization?

[Lick] It has been confirmed that the congress, which is to take place in the first quarter of next year, must be prepared from the grassroots upward. It will be preceded by party discussions and by changes in the party's organizational structure. According to the information we received, it is planned—among other things—to dissolve the Regional Party Work Centers and reduce the number of deputy departmental head posts at Voivodship Committees as well as the number of voivodship committee secretaries to three in the future.

Mazowiecki Receives Farmers Solidarity Official

LD3108152489 Warsaw PAP in English
1253 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received today head of the Farmers' Solidarnosc, Deputy Speaker of the Senate Jozef Slisz.

Also today, Mazowiecki sent a letter to the Farmers' Solidarnosc National Board thanking them for the decision to halt protest actions and for appealing to the farmers to pay overdue taxes.

OKP Foreign Committee Holds First Session*LD3108164689 Warsaw PAP in English
1524 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—The Foreign Committee of the citizens' parliamentary Floor Group OKP held its first session here Thursday.

According to Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the meeting discussed organizational issues connected with Committee's activity and questions that the OKP would like to present to the Sejm. Among them the most important is the question of the Foreign Ministry's structure.

"Another important problem is to review the relations between Poland and the two German states: The FRG and the GDR," Onyszkiewicz said. "We also plan to deal with Polish-Czechoslovak and Polish-Hungarian relations in the same way.

"The Committee deemed it purposeful to familiarize itself with the legal status that regulates the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland. These regulations are very old indeed as they were made over 30 years ago. That is why we would like to reread them and make amendments if necessary," he said.

Poland Requests Overseas Development Loan*OW2808063189 Tokyo KYODO in English
0550 GMT 28 Aug 89*

[Text] Tokyo, Aug. 28 KYODO—Poland called on Japan Monday to extend its official development assistance (ODA) and other aid to the deficit-ridden East European country, which has ended more than 40 years of communist rule.

Polish Ambassador to Japan Ryszard Frackiewicz told reporters at the Polish Embassy in Tokyo that Poland hoped to receive an ODA loan. Japan extends low interest loans to developing countries.

He quoted Japanese government officials as saying that Poland does not qualify for an ODA loan. But he said Poland's per capita income is less than 2,000 dollars compared to an average 2,826 dollars in countries that had received aid in 1987.

Frackiewicz said the Polish Government wanted Japan to give "direct investment, technical aid, and joint production" to Poland, which faces a 39-billion-dollar debt and soaring inflation.

Frackiewicz said the Polish Government hoped also to receive Japanese advice on energy and pollution-saving equipment, thermal power station construction, food-processing production, and company management techniques.

"Poland is entirely an open country and has continued to declare its intention to repay debts to donor countries, he said. He said the country is now at the "brink of economic collapse."

Frackiewicz also said Poland wants economic and investment aid but "not in industries which will have any military relevance."

Walesa To Transfer Nobel Prize Money to Poland*AU3108123289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 29 Aug 89 p 6*

[Text] PAP—Jakob Sverdrup, director of the Norwegian Nobel Prize Institute, has expressed his satisfaction with the news of Lech Walesa's decision to withdraw the Nobel prize money he was awarded in 1983.

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE reports that Lech Walesa told Norwegian businessmen in Gdansk that on account of the changes in Poland, he had decided to transfer the money there "in order to invest it in a way that is useful to everyone."

Solidarity Local Radio Station in Prospect*LD3008200489 Warsaw PAP in English
1844 GMT 30 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30: The organizing committee of Radio Solidarnosc of the Mazowsze Region is seeking to organize a local union radio station.

After acquiring appropriate permission to operate the Mazowsze Region radio station, the organizing committee will proceed to build a transmission mast, equip the broadcasting studio and to man the editorial staff. The committee plans that these preparations will last for about two months.

In the first stage the station is to beam about four hours of programmes daily. When full operating capacity is gained it is to work round the clock.

1947 Judgment on PSL Leaders Reversed*LD3008205889 Warsaw PAP in English
1850 GMT 30 AUG 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Having examined the prosecutor's general extraordinary appeal in the rehabilitation case of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) leadership, Poland's Supreme Court reversed today the whole judgment and acquitted the sentenced.

In 1947 Stanislaw Mierzwa, Karol Buczek, Mieczyslaw Kabat, Karol Starmach and Jerzy Kunce had been sentenced to terms ranging from six to fifteen years by virtue of the decree of November 16, 1945 on crimes particularly dangerous in the period of the state's reconstruction.

CPCZ Secretary Knotek on 'Brief Working Visit'

Meets With Sirbu

AU3108193889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1804 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 31/8/1989—On August 31, Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, paid a brief working visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the CC of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

On the occasion, he conducted talks with Ion Sirbu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, when information was exchanged on the two parties' concerns for economic and social development and the improvement of the organization and management of economic activities in the economic and other areas between Romania and Czechoslovakia.

During the talks, emphasis was placed on the ascending course of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations and the joint determination was expressed to develop them more powerfully, on multiple planes, on the basis of the summit understandings, in the interest of building the new system in Romania and Czechoslovakia, of the cause of socialism and peace. Furthermore, opinions were exchanged on the continuous development of exchanges and of economic, technical and scientific cooperation, of the collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Ivan Knotek and the officials accompanying him saw round new construction, residential areas and economic and sociocultural units in Bucharest.

CTK Reports on Talks

LD3108171289 Prague CTK in English
1515 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest Aug 31 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Ivan Knotek today paid a one-day working visit to Romania at the invitation of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee.

He met for talks with Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Ion Sirbu. They called for further development of cooperation between the two parties, and emphasized the two countries' interest in the extension of economic and trade cooperation in all spheres.

The two representatives pointed to the existing reserves in economic and trade relations, stressing the necessity of greater implementation of modern forms of economic cooperation, mainly cooperation in production and specialization between Czechoslovak and Romanian enterprises.

Ivan Knotek and Ion Sirbu called for further development and improvement of the activity of the Council for

Mutual Economic Assistance in the interest of speeding up the economic and social development of all member countries.

Revision of International Financial System Urged

AU3008165589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1506 GMT 30 Aug 89

["For the Transformation of the International Financial System Into an Instrument of Stimulating All Peoples' Progress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 30/8/1989—Among the programmatic orientations of Romania's foreign policy, pride of place is held by its demarches, proposals and initiatives for the establishment of new international economic and financial relations underlain by equality and equity and effectively supported by efforts toward progress of all states, more particularly of the developing ones. The world financial system, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed, must cease to be a means in the hands of the international financial capital, of the developed imperialist countries which unfairly appropriate the work of other peoples whose situation has been worsening with every passing year.

There are two essential causes which led to such a situation: on the one hand, the financial policy of inordinately high interest rates promoted by the developed capitalist countries after 1978 and, on the other hand, the inequities in international economic relations. A number of studies and analyses made on an international plane evince the preponderant role of the "dear money" policy in rapidly augmenting the developing countries' foreign debt.

The debtor countries' external financial pledges served rather the banking monopolies to get higher profits and the creditor countries to enrich than their own economic and social development. Last year the developing states transferred 43 billion dollars more to the developed capitalist countries than they received from them. On such a fact does President Nicolae Ceausescu rely when assessing that the maintenance of a relatively sustained growth rate in the rich country is, to a certain extent, an outcome of the developing countries' being plundered by the financial capital and the transnational monopolies.

The exploitation of the poor world by the rich one has gained ground in recent years owing to both the usurious credit policy and other neocolonialist practices, especially in the price sphere.

Turned into a tremendous source of profits for the rich countries, foreign debt has also become the greatest obstacle to the socioeconomic development of the poor countries.

The evolutions in the world economy and in the international financial relations have proved the justness of

President Nicolae Ceausescu's option to pay off Romania's foreign debt in the shortest possible time. Given the fact that as long as excessively high interest rates are to be paid socioeconomic development cannot be ensured, Romania decided already in 1981 to give up external credits. As a matter of fact, the experience of Romania just as of other developing states, which have paid so far twice or even thrice more than they borrowed, has proved that the crediting policy of the western financial circles does not aim at really assisting the countries which wish to develop, on the contrary it burdens them and turns them into sources of income for the rich states, credits being thus an obstacle to economic and social progress.

That is why Romania gave up the "recipes" suggested by the International Monetary Fund which, had they been applied, would have led to economic and social destabilization, as in other debtor countries it so happened, and it worked out its own programmes that provided for the means needed to pay back its foreign debt this year.

In the current difficult conditions in the world economy, the success of the Romanian strategy appears all the more remarkable as, concurrently with the wiping-off of the foreign debt, the Romanian economy continued to grow owing to the implementation of the productive investment programmes and to the maintenance of steadily high material and spiritual standards of living of all the country's citizens. Certainly, such outstanding achievements, which are a proof of the might of the Romanian society and the Romanian people's capacity to abolish foreign dependence and make itself a new, free and independent life, would not have been possible unless a substantial part of the national income had been systematically earmarked for development.

Particularly realistic and constructive have also been the conception and proposals regarding the resolution of the developing countries' external debt problem. Along this line, Romania declares for a global political and economic settlement according to criteria and principles that should take into account the debtor countries' development level, their possibilities for payment and the efforts they should make for their economic and social progress.

According to Romania's outlook, such an aim can be attained only with the participation of all states, both developed and developing, in a UN-sponsored international conference which should establish the measures to be taken by common accord. Romania holds the view that they should concentrate on those apt to radically solve the foreign debt problem through the cancellation of some debts, the reduction of others and a long-term re-scheduling of the still remaining credits with low or without interest rates.

[Text] Romania also is for a new, more equitable international financial system apt to put an end to the big banking monopolies' policy of robbing and dominating the poor countries and to turn it into an instrument of

stimulating economic activities, of assisting the developing countries. Romania opines that the IMF and the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] must basically reconsider the policies and practices they have used so far and democratize their work so as the member countries, especially the developing states, should play a greater role in establishing measures and making decisions.

The translation into fact of such proposals, required by the current serious situation, would doubtlessly contribute to recovering the world economy and to committing it to a new, sound way.

Ceausescu Greets Sam Nujoma on Namibia Day

*AU3008121089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Aug 89 p 4*

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Sam Nujoma, president of the South-West African People's Organization, on Namibia Day]

[Text] To Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO),

On the anniversary of Namibia Day, I extend to you, all SWAPO members and sympathizers, and all the friendly Namibian people—on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], the Romanian people, and myself personally—warm congratulations and best wishes for success in achieving your legitimate aspirations for freedom, national independence, and socioeconomic progress.

I express the trust that the Namibian people's heroic struggle to eliminate colonial domination and achieve Namibia's independence will open up new prospects for developing and deepening relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between the RCP and SWAPO and between the Romanian and Namibian people, to our mutual benefit and in the interest of the cause of freedom, peace, understanding, and cooperation in the world.

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Greet CSSR on Holiday

*AU3108161689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
29 Aug 89 p 4*

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to CSSR leaders Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, and Ladislav Adamec on the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Insurrection]

[Text] To Comrade Milos Jakes, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ],

To Comrade Gustav Husak, CSSR President,

To Comrade Ladislav Adamec, CSSR Premier,

Esteemed Comrades: On the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, we extend warm comradely greetings and most cordial congratulations to you, the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the friendly Czechoslovak people, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people, and ourselves personally.

The Slovak National Uprising, which was inspired, organized, and led by the Communist Party, made an important contribution to the defeat of fascism and the re-establishment of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks and paved the way for innovating changes in your country.

The Romanian people follow with interest and sincerely rejoice in the outstanding achievements attained by the Czechoslovak people in promoting their socioeconomic growth, developing science and culture, and further raising the standard of living.

Highly valuing Romanian-CSSR cooperation, we express the conviction that the relations between our parties and countries will further develop in the spirit of the understandings reached at summit level and for the benefit of our peoples and of the cause of socialism, progress, and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, as well as the whole Czechoslovak nation ever greater successes in the fulfillment of the 17th CPCZ Congress decisions and in the activity devoted to the flourishing and prosperity of your fatherland.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Foreign Leaders Greet Ceausescu on National Day

Carcani Message

*AU3008160589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
25 Aug 89 p 5*

[Message from Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu:

On the 45th jubilee anniversary of Romania's National Holiday, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and on my own behalf, I convey to you, and through you to the Romanian people, cordial greetings and best wishes for

success in ensuring the development, progress, and prosperity of your homeland. We wish our relations and the friendly cooperation between our countries to develop constantly, for the mutual benefit of our peoples and in the interest of peace and security in this region.

Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Afghan President's Cable

*AU3008194789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Aug 89 p 5*

[Message from Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the 45th anniversary of Romania's liberation, on behalf of the Afghan people and on my own behalf, I would like to extend our sincere greetings to you and to the Romanian people. Likewise, I must mention the great achievements that you have recorded in the past 45 years, particularly in the economy and in Romania's socioeconomic life. In the past 24 years, Romania has played an important role among all the other peace-loving countries and has ensured peace and the expansion of friendly relations among all nations of the world.

It is a great pleasure for me to see that the struggle of the Afghan people to eliminate foreign intervention enjoys the complete solidarity of the Romanian people.

Expressing the wish to continue to expand the friendly relations between our countries, I extend wishes for much success and prosperity to the Romanian people.

Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan

Herzog Greeting

*AU3008160989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Aug 89 p 5*

[Message from Hayim Herzog, president of Israel, to Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On behalf of the Israeli people and on my own behalf, I take great pleasure in conveying to you most cordial greetings on the occasion of your country's National Day.

Likewise, I would like to extend to you heartfelt wishes for good health and for happiness and well-being to Romania.

Hayim Hezog, president of Israel

Shamir Cables Ceausescu

*AU3008200789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
30 Aug 89 p 5*

[Telegram from Yitzhaq Shamir, prime minister of the State of Israel, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On Romania's national day, I take great pleasure in extending to you the Israeli Government's sincere congratulations, to which I would like to add best wishes for your personal health and for your country's happiness and further progress.

Yitzhaq Shamir, prime minister of the State of Israel

Yemeni Leaders Congratulations

*AU3008201189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
30 Aug 89 p 5*

[Telegram from People's Democratic Republic of Yemen leaders 'Ali Salim al-Bid and Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: On the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, we extend to you comradely greetings and best wishes for your personal health and happiness, as well as wishes for the friendly Romanian people's progress and well-being, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party and its Politburo and of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council.

We express the conviction that the relations between our parties and peoples will continue to develop.

'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party

Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, member of the Politburo of the Yemen Socialist Party and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council

Message From Morocco

*AU3008200389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Aug 89 p 5*

[Message from Ali Yata, general secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

Esteemed Comrade: I take great pleasure in extending to you our heartfelt greetings on the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in Romania.

We are happy to see that Romania continues to build socialism consistently and resolutely, and that in spite of difficulties and obstacles it continues to score successes. The repayment of Romania's foreign debt in a short period of time is telling proof of these successes.

Romania also remains active in the international arena, where it makes an efficient contribution to detente, to the consolidation of peace in the world, and to cooperation among peoples and states.

These positive results are owed to you personally, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the RCP, and to the Romanian people, who manifest a great spirit of patriotism and sacrifice.

Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we extend to you our sincere wishes for good health and a long life and for new successes to Socialist Romania.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Progress and Socialism

Ali Yata, general secretary of the party

Ethiopia Sends Greetings

*AU3008195189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Aug 89 p 5*

[Message from Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, on 23 August, the national day of Romania]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, the government, and the people of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and on my own behalf, I would like to convey heartfelt greetings to you, and through you to the RCP Central Committee and to the government and the fraternal people in the

Socialist Republic of Romania, on the historical occasion of the 45th anniversary of Romania's liberation by the country's patriotic and progressive forces. The anniversary of the national liberation is an important contribution to the struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed people.

On this historical anniversary, I would like to reiterate our firm belief that the relations of close and full cooperation, which are developing in the best way possible between our countries, will continue to consolidate and deepen, for the mutual benefit of our peoples.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend to you best wishes for good health and personal happiness and for continuous progress and prosperity to the fraternal Romanian people.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and supreme commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Mozambique Congratulates Ceausescu

AU3008141489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
30 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Joaquim Alberto Chissano, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: The Mozambican people, the FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique extend to you heartfelt congratulations on the 45th anniversary of Romania's anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation.

The glorious 23 August 1944—when the Romanian people, after a heroic struggle waged with courage and boldness, overthrew the fascist military dictatorship and raised forever the banner of freedom, independence, and democracy—is being proudly celebrated today by progressive nations throughout the world. The sacrifices and blood shed by the antifascist Romanian fighters—workers, peasants, soldiers, and intellectuals, as well as by the RCP—secured the development of your beautiful and respected country, the Socialist Republic of Romania, during the past 45 years of freedom. Today, thanks to the working people's consistent commitment, the Socialist Republic of Romania, which in the past was a country with backward agriculture, has today become an advanced and prosperous socialist state, with modern industry and agriculture. Dear Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, I take this opportunity to hail with sentiments of particular regard the support given by the friendly

Romanian nation to the Mozambican people at this crucial moment in their struggle against hunger and for peace and tranquility in Mozambique.

We are convinced that, in fulfilling the tasks established by the Fifth FRELIMO Party Congress, our people will continue to enjoy, as always, the Romanian people's valuable contribution, which is particularly apparent in the exemplary work performed by the Romanian experts integrated in the various fronts of our economy. The dedication, competence, and spirit of sacrifice of these comrades are proof of the fact that the principles of the Treaty of Friendship and cooperation between our two states are being applied in actual fact.

We extend to you best wishes for health and long life, and we reiterate the heartfelt desire to further strengthen and expand the relations of friendship and solidarity that bind our peoples, parties, and governments.

With high regard,

Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the FRELIMO Party and of the People's Republic of Mozambique

Congolese Send Congratulations

AU3008195589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
30 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the people's Republic of the Congo, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On your country's national holiday, the Congolese people, party, and government are happily joining me in extending warmest congratulations to you.

On this solemn anniversary, I would like to reiterate our firm determination to strive to develop and strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries, for the triumph of our common ideals.

I wish the friendly Romanian people further brilliant victories, under your clear-sighted leadership, in building the comprehensively developed socialist society and I extend to you my sentiments of great and militant consideration.

Army General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party and President of the People's Republic of the Congo

Nicaragua Greets Ceausescu*AU3008150189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
30 Aug 89 p 5*

[Telegram from Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: On behalf of the Nicaraguan people, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, our government, and myself personally, I take great pleasure in extending to you warm and heartfelt greetings on the 45th anniversary of such an important historical act as the Romanian people's liberation from fascist domination and the triumph of the socialist revolution in your country.

All the Nicaraguan people sincerely rejoice in the fact that, in the past 45 years, the Romanian people have scored important victories along the road of socialism.

Once again, we extend to you and the Romanian people our wishes for new and great successes.

With fraternal sentiments,

Daniel Ortega Saavedra, president of the Republic of Nicaragua

Honduras Sends Greetings*AU3008131389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Aug 89 p 5*

[Message from Rigoberto Padilla Rush, secretary general of the Communist Party of Honduras, to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, we take pleasure in congratulating the Romanian people, through Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and Romania's president, for the heroic events that led to the liberation of the country from fascist occupation.

We wish you much and new success in your noble activity, to fulfill new goals in the national development and in consolidating the close friendship between our parties and people.

Rigoberto Padilla Rush, secretary general of the Communist Party of Honduras

Greetings From Panama*AU3008192989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
27 Aug 89 p 5*

[Telegram from Ruben Dario Souza, general secretary of the People's Party of Panama, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]:

Please receive, from the Central Committee of the People's Party of Panama and myself personally, the sincere, fraternal, and revolutionary greetings of Panamanian Communists to the Romanian Communists and the diligent Romanian people, on the 45th anniversary of the triumph of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation. This revolution paved the way for your country's glorious work of building the peaceful and developed modern Romania, which today occupies a dignified place among the nations of the world, alongside all forces that are advocating social progress and are siding with the peoples struggling for their right to self-determination and their own independence.

At this difficult time for our country, whose very existence is threatened by the expansionist ambitions of North American imperialism, which—under the pretext of guaranteeing the security of the canal that links the two oceans, which everybody knows is not threatened by anybody—is trying to preserve control over a vital part of our national territory, against our people's will, the achievements of the Romanian party and people in the past 45 years of intensive and fruitful work are a source of inspiration and trust for the Panamanian patriots, who thus know that they are not alone in their struggle and can count on sincere friends, such as the Romanian Communists. Your triumph and successes give us trust in the triumph of our just cause.

United in the same cause, namely the creation of a new world, free of exploiters and imperialists, we are marching toward the final victory, toward socialism and a world of peace.

Long live modern Socialist Romania!

Ruben Dario Souza, People's Party of Panama general secretary

Laos Conveys Message*AU3108140689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
29 Aug 89 p 3*

[Message from Lao leaders to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, and Grand National Assembly Chairman Nicolae Giosan on national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president

of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to Comrade Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA]:

On the 45th anniversary of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on behalf of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Central Committee, the Supreme People's Council, the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], the Lao people, and on our own behalf, we convey heartfelt greetings and best wishes to you, to the RCP Central Committee, the GNA, the Council of Ministers, and to all the Romanian people.

The victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of August 1944 marked a historical turning point in the heroic struggle of the Romanian people and a great victory, not only for the Romanian people, but also for all the other people who are fighting for justice and progress.

Under the RCP leadership, today Romania has become a socialist country with an advanced agriculture,

industry, science, and technology, which made possible the continuous improvement of the people's standard of living.

The LPDR highly values the great successes of the Romanian people, who make an important contribution to consolidating the socialist community and to safeguarding peace and security in Europe and throughout the world and are an encouragement for all the peoples who are fighting for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

On this solemn occasion, we extend to the Romanian people, led by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, wishes for increasingly greater successes in the implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions.

May the fraternal solidarity and cooperation between our parties, governments, and between the Lao and the Romanian peoples continue to consolidate.

Kaysone Phomviharn, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers

Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of the LPDR

Nouhak Phoumsavann, chairman of the Supreme People's Council of the LPDR

Drnovsek on Nonaligned Movement Summit, Tension

*LD3108214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—The nonaligned must concentrate more on economic than on political action and concern themselves above all with the problem of debt and underdevelopment, said the Yugoslav head of state, Janez Drnovsek, in an interview with French journalists, among them the AFP correspondent.

Yugoslavia, which will assume the chairmanship of the Nonaligned Movement at the upcoming session, intends to ensure that economic issues are the center of the movement's attention in coming years, Drnovsek said. The ninth summit of the nonaligned countries will be held in Belgrade 4-7 September.

Yugoslavia has always given priority to the search for practical solutions with regard to ideology, Drnovsek added during the program on Radio France Internationale, thus confirming the divergence of views between Belgrade and the group of radical countries (Nicaragua, Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea) which oppose abandoning the ideology of the Third World within the framework of the movement, according to observers.

"The nonaligned were in crisis; Yugoslavia has taken on the position of chairman of the movement in order to modernize it," the president continued, stressing that Yugoslavia will nevertheless pursue its desire to move closer to Western Europe.

We are formally candidates for the EEC, though at the moment it would not be realistic to talk about it with our inflation and our economic instability. We must first adjust our economy to world economic imperatives, Drnovsek said.

President Drnovsek, on the other hand, assessed as unfounded the criticism made recently by the two most developed republics in the country (Slovenia and Croatia) of Yugoslavia's participation in the Nonaligned Movement, which they see as hampering rapprochement with Europe.

Assessing as "very important for all socialist countries" the processes of democratization under way in certain East European countries, Drnovsek nevertheless indicated reservations with regard to the possible introduction of a multiparty system in Yugoslavia: "We cannot make direct use of Western European models. New ways have to be found, and a transitional period would have to follow."

These processes of democratization in the East cannot be described as the "end of the communist system"; rather the question is one of a "search for new effectiveness of the socialist system," Drnovsek continued.

The tension in interethnic and political relations between the various Yugoslav republics "is deepening

and becoming very serious at times" because of the economic crisis and the absence of short-term solutions, added the Yugoslav president.

The 39-year-old Drnovsek, head of state with a 1-year mandate within the collective Presidency of the Yugoslav Federation, stressed that the length of that mandate gives his position a "special" character.

"One year is not a long time, but it is difficult to find another solution which would be acceptable to all republics," Drnovsek added, noting that in the forthcoming reform of the Constitution possible changes in the functioning of the Federal Presidency will be examined.

Drnovsek Interviewed on Economic Situation

*AU3108120689 Ljubljana DELO
in Slovene 26 Aug 89 p 20*

[Interview with Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, by Dragisa Boskovic, on 21 August, place not given: "The Time for Living With Inflation Is Running Out"]

[Text] Yugoslavia is touching the bottom of its economic crisis this year. Inflation threatens to annihilate the effect of the otherwise good and necessary changes, whose intention is to restructure the system and create a consistent market system. We will master it in two ways only: with an implacable reduction or a comprehensive indexing of the prices, wages, interest rates, and so forth. A destructive political and economic influence of the increasing inflation does not permit any other possibility.

Therefore, the inflation will be the first point on the Yugoslav agenda this summer and certainly also in the fall. In particular one should speed up the separation of politics from money, devoting as much attention as necessary to this problem, and not only use our own best forces but also call for the assistance of distinguished foreign and international institutions, experts, and so forth. These and other subjects were discussed by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, who was interviewed by our commentator Dragisa Boskovic for 1 and 1/2 hours on Monday [21 August].

[Boskovic] It seems that Yugoslav society is sufficiently unanimous in its opinion regarding the need to restructure the system with regard to the market and to introduce a successful current economic policy. An important question arises in this connection: Should the expected changes in the current policy, and especially in the monetary field, be achieved through more resolute measures or gradually in the hope that the system changes will affect inflation. Can you tell us what you think about this?

[Drnovsek] I think that within its efforts, the government has given justified priority to the system changes intended to expand the opportunities for the working of the market and the market forces. It began its work in a

very difficult position on several fronts at the same time; undoubtedly a deregulation of the economic life was necessary and it is not unjustified to expect that these changes will affect the inflation, especially in the long run. However, I fear that the time is approaching when the constantly growing inflation will annihilate the beneficial influence of these and other desired system changes. It seems that this summer we are touching the bottom of our economic crisis and the inflation inevitably imposes itself as the number one problem.

[Boskovic] In our public arena, a strange division between alleged adherents of the government and the alleged opponents of inflation is to be noticed. A person who supports the government market orientation is certainly in a quandary as to how he should discuss what should be done about inflation and current policy; and this certainly is a question causing difficulties even to the states with a flawlessly arranged market. Surely one can discuss these doubts, can one not?

[Drnovsek] I agree. You can fight inflation in only two ways: either you resolutely reduce it or you apply indexation to everything: wages, prices, revenues, interest, and so forth. I fear that the latter of these two possibilities no longer applies, because we have reached almost the end. An increasing rate of inflation causes political, economic, and social consequences which are more and more difficult to bear. What is becoming particularly unbearable are the social costs of inflation particularly in the underdeveloped regions of the country. Even a resolute clash with inflation inevitably entails a social cost evidenced in a fall of production and in the standard of living. The government was certainly aware of this when, in addition to introducing the system changes, it tried to correct the poor starting point and accelerate to some extent the growth of the economy and personal incomes, and then to tackle inflation in an improved economic situation, hoping that the social cost of bridling the inflation will thus be more bearable. Inflation is now running ahead of us, but its reduction can no longer be postponed. The question, above all, is whether the monetary and credit policy can do its work and under what conditions it can do it.

[Boskovic] Can you say something more about this, not just as president of the SFRY Presidium, but personally as an expert, for this field is after all your profession? Among all the spheres of the system, this one seems most neglected.

[Drnovsek] I can. There has been no political will, and no expertise, to make some order in this sphere, where for years money has been created through lack of financial discipline, and losses have been accumulating in the central bank, while some sort of imaginary revenue was being redistributed at the same time. The government now tries to eliminate some money substitutes, but at this moment we do not know yet how large the central bank losses are, particularly now because the inflation has complicated any reliable calculations if it has not even made them impossible. The money reform must be

carried out to its end, and the central bank must have enough power in this respect so that it will actually be responsible for the stability of the currency.

[Boskovic] Since we talk so much about Yugoslavia's European course in various fields, is the dinar joining the European economic system in the cards, for even if we strengthen it, the dinar will still require an outside "anchor"?

[Drnovsek] Of course it is. The inclusion of the dinar in the international monetary system is one of the inevitable parts of a stable currency. It is understood, however, that we must first fulfill some conditions. Politics must anyhow be separated from the economy and from money in particular. The distribution of money is our old problem, and the distribution of some entitlements that have been supposedly acquired is one of the big problems of the bank of issue, which should get rid of this problem and devote itself to its chief task, which is the protection of the value of money. Along with this, the dinar should join the international monetary system. This is an important part of the broader strivings to make the country harmonize with its European neighborhood as much as possible.

[Boskovic] If I understand you properly, do you advocate more radical measures especially in the sphere of money, money supply, and credit? What do you think about the possible effect of such measures on the situation in the country and what about the situation in Yugoslavia as a part of the world system? Our foreign exchange reserves are comparatively large, and the debt restructuring has again allowed us to catch our breath.

[Drnovsek] In addition to a stricter economic, and especially monetary, policy, we must study specific measures, which we are discussing a great deal, but only in general terms. It seems that everything should be done so that production is affected as little as possible when the measures against inflation become more radical. After all, we have reserves in the construction industry, in small businesses, and in other fields. I do not agree that we have gained much with the debt restructuring. The rise of the interest rates in the financial markets has in the meanwhile annulled a major part of this relief. We will pay almost \$2 billion in interest alone in this year. We must repay, or rather repurchase, as much of our debt as possible at its market value and not at its nominal value.

[Boskovic] Does this mean that we will ask our creditors for solutions that have been applied in Mexico under the plan by U.S. Treasury Secretary Brady? Apart from its political and economic foundation, what is the moral foundation for such a request? Is it perhaps the idea that it is not right that the debtor states by paying the interest, pay the price for the inflationary expectations incorporated in the present world monetary system?

[Drnovsek] Why should we not ask for them? The plan by the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury admits that these relations are not just and that the interest rates have been

excessive for years. The conditions which we agreed upon with our creditors 2 years ago are now obsolete. There is actually no reason that we should be particularly happy without foreign exchange reserves: At first glance, they are satisfactory, but a second look shows a very low accumulation in the country. To reduce the foreign debt is still the chief condition for settling the situation in our country. I think that following a variation of the Brady Plan, we should particularly reduce the burden of debt repayment to Macedonia, Montenegro, and Kosovo, because it is quite unrealistic to expect that these two republics and the province could pay the interest and survive the financial strictures that will be necessary in the struggle against inflation. If we eased the debt repayment for the underdeveloped parts of our country, we would essentially increase the chances of realizing the monetary reform.

[Boskovic] Can you tell us what was the guiding idea when the Yugoslav Presidency adopted its stand on European groups and linked its stand so closely with their political stances? From the viewpoint of our system, CEMA is not even an economic association—we were excited over the clearing system a short while ago—and of the other two, the European Free Trade Association seems to be slowly fading, while the political significance of the EC is unclear even its members are uncertain if it will survive at all.

[Drnovsek] Because of our present situation we strive for economic links above all. However, I do not agree with your statement that the European Free Trade Association is fading, because we could show that in the present European restructuring it is gaining in significance as a form of ties that, particularly in the opinion of neutral European states, continues to be most favorable. It could also be the transitory form for joining the EC. I think that we are no longer as indecisive as we used to be and that Yugoslavia could join the European Free Trade Association and establish closer links with the EC. Our government and our diplomacy should now make the appropriate moves first. Of no less importance is our resolution that we should as much as possible match our European neighbors in various important and less important matters. This resolution is demonstrated by our intention to strive for full membership in the Council of Europe. This of course means that we will have to adopt some of its conventions, among which the human rights convention is certainly the most important, and we will have to adjust our domestic legislation to it where necessary, of course.

[Boskovic] Although we do not belong to those who divide the various parts of our country and our people between those that are better and worse, it is obvious that Yugoslavia will have some rather difficult work to do in Kosovo, while carrying out a process to made it resemble its developed European neighbors more and more in all respects.

[Drnovsek] This is true. Kosovo is still one of the key Yugoslav problems. Proper solutions should be found

for it within the consensus of the development of the entire country. The situation in Kosovo has calmed down to some extent, and the Presidency has rescinded most of the emergency measures. It is important that we act correctly from now on, and that we do not make mistakes that would make matters worse. The Presidency has issued a warning on several occasions that correct work by all of the state organs is very necessary, so that their mistakes do not further aggravate the situation, cause revanchisms, and so forth. To establish confidence among the members of the peoples and nationalities living in Kosovo demands a rational, calm, and patient work without interference or the arousing of passions by any side, and above all without repression. The political organs in Kosovo, Serbia, and all of Yugoslavia bear the responsibility for this. Objectivity and the correct work of the courts are particularly important at this stage. At the same time, we would need a development program for Kosovo that would make possible a faster economic growth and growth of employment, because the present program has not yielded fruit. I have proposed that experts of the World Bank, who have much experience in such work, should cooperate in the drafting of a new program. One of the good things of such an approach, at least in the present political situation, is that international experts cannot be accused of regional or any other bias. All Kosovo problems, not only the economic but also social problems, can be tackled by them unburdened, following their own conscience and knowledge.

[Boskovic] Some domestic and foreign observers consider the said political bias and numerous disputes to be the greatest obstacle to the necessary consensus about what to do with our economy. Is the case not just the opposite, I mean, that such a dramatic reduction of values and the devaluation of money are in fact a recipe for inflaming various passions?

[Drnovsek] Economic instability undoubtedly affects the political situation. When one sees no prospects, all the passions and irrational traits come to the fore, including the nationalist ones. It is obvious that this political situation has a reverse negative influence on the economic situation and decisions. The temptation is increasing that politics should interfere even more in money and economy, and that solutions be adopted that have in fact caused the problems.

[Boskovic] What then is the reason for the decision that instead of a general indexation, radical measures to abolish inflation be taken, especially in the monetary and credit field? Do we not spend too much time on discussions about the nature of criticism and critics of daily politics, and even more about their motives, as if criticism were strange when inflation runs above 2,500 percent?

[Drnovsek] Yes, this is a small but subsidiary part of the problem, because the most important thing is the results. It is through results that justified and unjustified criticism and polemics may be ended. In the past few

months, the SFRY Presidency has given its support to the Federal Executive Council and provided it with room for maneuver so that it may design and carry out its economic policy. If there are no results within a reasonable time, we will not be able to avoid the question of responsibility of the Presidency for the situation in the country, and the Presidency will have to examine the situation again.

[Boskovic] The inflation, or perhaps hyper-inflation, is dramatically changing the nature of time and is shortening the deadlines. If, as you have said, we reach the lowest point this year and in the months that are still ahead of us, we must create radical steps, steps that a majority of state leaderships will not adopt as long as it appears that one can somehow live with the crisis?

[Drnovsek] Certainly, but the problem is very complicated, not only for us but also for the experts of the IMF and the World Bank. We are gathering together the best domestic experts and conducting consultations with well-known foreign economists. The SFRY Presidency will continue to create the necessary political conditions for an effective reduction of inflation and a continuation of the economic reform based on the market. I believe that considering hyper-inflation, Yugoslavia may also obtain the necessary international economic assistance. Once initial results are produced, I believe that a quicker improvement of the general economic and political situation in the country may follow.

[Boskovic] Thank you, comrade president.

Further Reportage on Muzevic, Police Case

Party Statement Viewed

AU3108112389 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 89 p 2

[Dara Vucinic commentary: "Announcements Lacking Confidence"]

[Text] Everything started (at least as far as the public was concerned) with two contradictory stories that were decisively presented as the only truths:

"Muzevic brutally beaten up" and "Muzevic not even touched"

The former statement was presented one day "with astonishment and indignation" by the highest party body of the Republic of Slovenia officially through the press, and the other one—on the same afternoon and in the same way—by the highest police body of the Republic of Serbia. Both bodies are the type that should normally be trusted not only by the people of their own region, but by the nation as a whole. However, the two truths cannot go together. They can even less represent one whole truth or the truth valid in the whole of the country.

However, in the same fashion in which everything has been happening in our country for about 2 full years, the whole truth was not what seemed to matter most for either of the a priori belligerent sides. The important thing was that a new reason has been found for an even more violent exchange of national-political arrows between the north-west and south-east in Yugoslavia. One side has now found the "proof" that Slovenes literally cannot feel secure in "Serbian Belgrade" and the other that party and other "factors" in Slovenia have been constantly inventing incidents to be able to inflame hatred against the Serbian leadership, against Belgrade and its citizens, and against the "fraternal Serbian people."

Of course, as if acting on command, the press on both sides reacted immediately. Inflammatory and completely contradictory commentaries which needed no proof, added fuel to the fire. An incident that in any normal law-governed state would be solved through normal and legal means clearly established by law, has been turned into a new first-class national political affair. Needless to say, everybody expressed unquestioned confidence in the forums and truths of their own territory and nation, attacking the "absolute lies" of the "other side" from "all weapons."

The Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia was immediately certain that "the circumstances justify the suspicion that the reasons for the violence (against Muzevic) are political" and demanded that "political stances should be taken and denunciation issued by the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia and the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia."

The City Committee of the Belgrade League of Communists and the City Executive Council have also immediately, completely, and without any question believed the report issued by "their" Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs according to which Muzevic had not been mistreated at all. The fact that on the following day, an experienced doctor claimed that the man had visible injuries on the face and on the back did not matter. This forum was nevertheless certain that Muzevic had committed several offenses and that the alleged mistreatment by Belgrade militiamen was only another excuse the Slovenes had found to "sow discord," express hatred, and make insinuations against Serbia and Yugoslavia.

However, since the incident had turned into a big political scandal and since the top political leadership of the country had been discussing it for several hours, one expected the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to at least present the full truth and that after its assessment was made, all dilemmas and causes to politicize the event further would stop. Unfortunately, this did not happen although an announcement was issued.

If there is any need or desire for the highest party "authorities" to interfere in legislature or in the affairs of the state bodies, if these "authorities" know something that state bodies should know, then they should have announced this whole truth.

It is all right that the Presidium trust one of its members, because if it did not, then he would not deserve to belong to it. However, it is incomprehensible that the Presidium treated its "confidence in Boris Muzevic's statement" as proof that the members of the traffic patrol of the Belgrade Secretariat for Internal Affairs exceeded their official authority in their use of force, and that the case was presented in their report in such a way on the basis of "fabricated suppositions."

The other assertion which says that on the basis of the "facts available so far," the Presidium... etc, is of a similar kind.

After all, since it has made its announcement isn't the Presidium obliged to say what these "available" facts were. Were they the well-argued facts established by the already announced but still mysterious commission of the Federal Executive Council that Muzevic had mentioned, or were they results of an investigation carried out by a secretariat for internal affairs, and if the latter is the case, then which secretariat was it? Because, let us remember, we know who is obliged by law and authorized to deal with traffic offenses or to conduct investigation on whether militiamen exceeded their official authority. The only such report was the official report presented by the Serbian Internal Secretariat. This report, however, clearly claims that Boris Muzevic had not been even touched and that he had committed several serious misdemeanor offenses. Does this then mean that the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia only had doubts about this report or that it had proofs that the claims made in it were not true. If the latter is the case, then one should have said so, regardless of whether or not everybody approved.

The Presidium criticized the "lower" political forums—the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia and the City Committee of the Belgrade League of Communists—because of their hastily made, one-sided, a priori exclusive, and unmeasured reactions, and the improper commentaries in some media. It was a correct approach on the part of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to say in its announcement that it "expects the appropriate state bodies to examine the case quickly and energetically... and inform the public about that, as well as undertake appropriate measures toward the culprits in the incident." However, all this is a loose and uncertain structure. The Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia itself has fallen into the trap of a "traffic confusion."

"The Muzevic case" has shown—once again and now more clearly than ever—that this country is far from

being a normal and a law-governed state. Had that not been so, there would have been no guesswork 8 days after the incident on whether there had been any incident at all, or whether somebody had invented it and blown it up only to feed daily political needs.

In a normal and law-governed state, Muzevic's party function and particularly his nationality, would have had absolutely no significance in a case of traffic violation. If he committed a violation he would simply be fined, just as a legal state organ, and not a party body decides about punishment or possible suspension of a policeman who used, that is, abused his fist or baton.

Secondly, if the party and its elitist top leadership do want to separate themselves from the state, to end their long tutorship, and to undergo modernization and reforms, then why is its highest body playing traffic policeman and trying to sort out the traffic jam in a half empty street? However, if that body decided to speak out (thus following the old practice), it should have come out with the full, well-argued, and unambiguous truth. That would have been the only way to prevent further political bickering and speculations. The situation being as it is, the announcement the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia made now, same as the ones it had made in the past, remain a blank cartridge. In fact, all these announcements are shots in the dark which can cause a new mutual and merciless barrage of fire. In such a battle, this introduction is in fact completely negligible.

Policemen Admit Beating

*LD3108225889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2133 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Belgrade, August 31 (TANJUG)—Following yesterday's brief statement by the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Serbia confirming that member of the top Yugoslav party leadership Boris Muzevic was maltreated by Belgrade traffic police on August 17, details of the investigation into the incident were revealed by the federal government at today's session.

The government adopted a report by a ministry commission which shed more light on the incident.

A day after the incident the ministry denied that Muzevic—who admitted having violated traffic regulations and being without necessary personal documents at the time—had been beaten by police.

It was also stated today that the three policemen present during the incident had changed their original statements and confirmed before the ministry commission that their colleague Petko Gavric had beaten Muzevic.

The incident involving the senior party official, the League of Communists of Slovenia representative on the LCY Central Committee Presidency, has triggered off fresh verbal exchanges along the Slovenia-Serbia lines.

Policemen Gavric now faces criminal charges and disciplinary action at work. The latter will also be instituted against the three policemen who, by their false testimonies, misled the Belgrade Interior Secretariat and the Serbian Interior Ministry. Muzevic will appear before a local magistrate to answer for the violation of traffic regulations.

Charges Brought Against Vlasi, 14 Others

AU3108180489 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 89 p 8

[M. Vujovic report: "Charges Filed Against Vlasi, Abrasi, Kavaja, and Krasnici"]

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 28 Aug.—Spasoje Zamfirovic, the district public prosecutor in Titova Mitrovica, announced today that charges have been brought in the Titova Mitrovica District Court against 15 persons who are accused on the basis of Article 45 Paragraph 2, Point 3 of the Law on Criminal Procedure.

Charges have been brought against: Azem Vlasi, lawyer, born in 1948; Aziz Abrasi, economist, born in 1934; Burhan Kavaja, mining engineer, born in 1943; Ljazar Krasnici, electronics engineer, born in 1945; Ibis Jonuzi, mining engineer, born in 1950; Mensur Fejza, mining engineer, born in 1941; Riza Musliju, lawyer, born in 1949; Ismailj Nimani, mining technician, born in 1956; Murselj Haziri, mining technician, born in 1957; Sinan Kurtesi, accounts clerk, born in 1958; Ramiz Kadari, clerk born in 1945; Velija Osmani, worker, born in 1937; Uka Avdink, worker, born in 1943; Jetis Bajrami, miner, born in 1950; and Tahir Salihu, worker, born in 1955.

The charges state that the accused carried out activities aimed at breaking up brotherhood and unity, destroying equality among peoples and nationalities, and undermining the country's economic foundations, which had serious consequences: the death of several persons, danger to human life, serious violence, and a threat to security and the country's economic strength. In doing so, the accused committed the crime of a counterrevolutionary threat to the social system as per Article 114 of the Criminal Law of Yugoslavia, punishable in accordance with Article 139, Paragraph 1 of the said law.

As Spasoje Zamfirovic, district public prosecutor who will act as the public prosecutor in the trial, told journalists in the Titova Mitrovica District Public Prosecutor's Office, the accused joined the counterrevolutionary activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists, whose aim was to break up brotherhood and unity among peoples and nationalities, disturb the equality of peoples and nationalities, establish an ethnically pure Kosovo by forcing Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate, and create conditions for Kosovo's secession from Yugoslavia, and that in this way, they endangered Yugoslavia's territorial integrity.

The first four accused—Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, Burhan Kavaja, and Ljazar Krasnici—organized and supported the mass protests, rallies, and demonstrations of the citizens of Albanian nationality in November of last year and the strike of the miners of the Stari Trg mine in Trepca in February of this year, while the other accused only took part in the miners' strike in February of this year.

They falsely presented the sociopolitical circumstances in the country, particularly the state of interethnic relations, and tried to convince the participants in the rallies, demonstrations, and miners' strike with the lies that their demands were in line with the state and party organs' policies. Moreover, they used lies to make the basic orientations in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism—cadre changes and the changes in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia—appear to be to the detriment of the Albanian nationality. They blackmailed and exerted pressure on some organs and responsible individuals in order to illegally replace the legally elected leadership. In order to accomplish their counterrevolutionary aims with lies and pressure, and by organizing and inducing mass rallies and demonstrations, as well as by asking the miners to stay in their pits, they used people as the means to realize their hostile aims, demonstrating at the same time a readiness to sacrifice their own lives, health, safety, dignity, and human feelings.

The charges further state that with their conduct, they contributed to the deepening of national disorders, especially in Kosovo, to the Serbs' and Montenegrins' fear of living in Kosovo, and to disturbing the entire Yugoslav public. This was why the SFRY Presidency introduced the special measures. Their activities have also resulted in considerable material damage to the community. These activities induced aggressive and resolute actions by Albanian nationalists and separatists who had been encouraged to persevere in accomplishing their aims using all available means.

The accused contributed to the occurrence of the mass counterrevolutionary demonstrations throughout Kosovo, in which the demands for which the accused strove were openly presented. During these demonstrations many participants behaved like terrorists, shooting and attacking without reason the members of the security organs who were trying to maintain peace and order. This resulted in the destruction of many vehicles and other technical equipment belonging to the security organs, as well as other facilities and social and private property. The whole situation assumed the elements of an armed uprising. During this uprising two members of the security forces were killed, one citizen was killed by a stray bullet, 12 members of the security forces were more seriously wounded or injured, while 112 of them were slightly injured. Moreover, 22 participants in the actions by Albanian nationalists and separatists were killed and several dozen were slightly or more seriously injured. These events resulted in more damage to the community. In Kosovo alone the estimated damaged

caused by the above-mentioned activities that took place between November of last year and March of this year was 199.4 billion dinars at that time.

The accused carried out their activities exclusively outside the system's legal institutions in such a way that they were obviously not exercising the freedom to express political convictions and opinions, but were committing criminal acts with serious and tragic consequences of which they were subsequently accused.

As Spasoje Zamfirovic, public prosecutor from Titova Mitrovica, said, the accused have the right to appeal within 8 days. He also said that the trial will probably be held in the Titova Mitrovica District Court 2 months after the charges have been brought, at the latest. The charges were brought on the basis of evidence (various acts, video and audio tapes, and the statements of over 90 witnesses mainly from Kosovo) gathered during the investigation. Otherwise, the sentence for this criminal act could be 10 years' imprisonment or a death sentence.

Answering the question about whether the charges would have been any different if the armed uprising had not taken place, Zamfirovic said that they would have been the same, because the March events were the result of the criminal acts committed by the accused earlier. Zamfirovic particularly stressed that this was not a political trial, but a criminal and legal trial for which much evidence has been gathered.

He said that this trial should be an "ordinary" trial and that there have been more serious and more complicated trials in the legal experience of Titova Mitrovica Court, such as the well-known affair concerning the theft of silver from the Trepcia work organization.

Zamfirovic told journalists that the trial will be open to the public, but that, because of the small number of seats in the hall, the number of journalists will be limited. He also said that Nadira Vlasi, Azem Vlasi's wife and VJESNIK journalist, expressed interest in the number of seats available for journalists, saying that interest in this trial is great both at home and abroad.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Esad Jusufi Released During Inquiry

During the inquiry it was established that the activities of Esad Jusufi represent the criminal act of provoking national, racial, and religious hatred, something that is in sphere of competence of the communal court.

This is why Esad Jusufi was recognized during the inquiry. The communal public prosecutor has already brought charges against him.

Some 90 Witnesses Will Be Called

Nobody can predict how long the trial will last. However, if the hearing of each witnesses—there are about 90 of

them—lasts 2 hours, as is expected, then this part of the trial would require 36 working days, Zamfirovic said.

Among the witnesses are some politicians, but their names have not been revealed.

Macedonian League Adopts Congress Agenda

*LD3109220189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1900 GMT 31 Aug 89*

[Text] Skopje, Aug 31 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists, [LC] of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia has committed itself, in a programme document for its forthcoming 10th congress, to the country's federative system and introduction of a multi-party system.

The document was presented to the Macedonian party Central Committee plenum in Skopje on Thursday by member of the republican party leadership Svetomir Skaric.

Macedonian Communists are opposed to attempts at creating an "asymmetrical federation" and the efforts from the north of the country to turn Yugoslavia into a confederation. They are against changing the nature of the federal state as a community of equal peoples created during the People's Liberation War (1941-1945).

Macedonian Communists hold that Yugoslavia cannot be treated as a product of provisional agreement between the top republican leaderships and that its territorial integrity must be preserved in all possible changes.

Market economy and political democracy require a modern, effective and democratic federation which will effectively [word indistinct] regional, national and political divisions by means of economic and legal instruments, the draft platform emphasizes.

The League of Communists of Macedonia also urges a political system of direct socialist democracy and political pluralism.

The right of citizens to political association, including the right to form political parties, should be introduced in place of the freedom of association guaranteed under the existing Yugoslav constitution, the programme document says.

The freedom of political organization can only be limited in case it is abused for purposes directed against humanity.

On the economic system, the Macedonian League of Communists advocates the unhampered development of all forms of ownership and entrepreneurship and the autonomy of banks and enterprises, while being opposed to administrative interference of the state in economic trends. In this republic, however, a proposal has for the first time been clearly formulated that large technological-economic systems should be state property, and not so-called social property as until now.

The Macedonian League of Communists considers that the concept of self-management should be adapted to conditions of a market economy and pluralism. It therefore proposes a stronger role for the workers' councils as the top organs of authority in enterprises, while drawing a firm line between the management and self-management functions.

Zagreb Train Engineers Continue Pay Strike

LD3108093489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0718 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Zagreb, August 31 (TANJUG)—Engine drivers in Zagreb, chief city of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia, and their mates in another three towns in Croatia (Rijeka, Split and Slavonski Brod) are still on strike today. Negotiations in the past 24 hours since the strike started have yielded results so far.

The matter has been at a standstill over the amount of pays due this month and in the rest of this year's months until a new standard pay scale has been adopted.

While the engine drivers are on strike, the management of the Zagreb Railway Transport Enterprise are doing their utmost in order to have trains roll anyway. As far as international, business and rapid trains are concerned, there have been no major difficulties, but strike consequences are being more and more heavily felt with freight and local passenger trains.

Markovic's 'Liberalism,' Reaction Considered

AU3108202889 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 89 p 13

[Vlastimir Mijovic commentary: "The High Treason of the Outdated Doctrine" reprinted from OSLOBODJENJE—date of issue not given]

[Text] Markovic's government is doomed in any case. Of course, if its economic policy fails to yield the expected fruit, one does not have to ask why the consequences arise. However, the members of the present Federal Executive Council are nevertheless ill-fated, even if they manage to find the way out of the crisis with the help of their liberalist program. To be accused of silently introducing "capitalist manners" into our socialist preserve has always been a huge political burden, and Markovic and his government have been confronted with such accusations almost every day.

If one is to believe one's eyes, the seed of capitalist relations really seems to have firmly embedded itself in the Yugoslav economy, and to have done so at the command of Markovic's government. I am not really sure that we are moving toward "the worst possible kind of capitalism," as a Sarajevo professor claims, but his majesty, capital, has been entering this—until recently—forbidden zone through a relatively wide-open door. The unified [istovrstan] market (of labor, goods, and capital) is increasingly being given the green light, even in places

where the its lights always used to be red. Now, let us be honest, the results of this process include many things that have so far been alien to our ideological concept. The capitalization of the economy and of production relations is the inevitable consequence of efforts to reach something that we very obviously lack, economic efficiency, and to do so in the shortest possible time.

This tendency is completely understandable to many people. Some of them keep silent (therefore, they probably agree with it), others loudly approve of such a course, and the third group express firm opposition: We do not want capitalism in Yugoslavia! We do not want Markovic's liberalism! However, we all want—what else—a better life, higher wages, a higher standard of living, that is, we all want to finally free ourselves from the iron grip of this crisis and this poverty. In other words, we want to have the cake and eat it too. In fact, this applies only to those people who keep an ideological watch over Markovic's moves. Of course, they are doing so from the point of view of socialist and communist "orthodoxy." They do not want any mixed drinks, because they are afraid of having even worse hangovers. Is this fear justified?

At present, empty stomachs are the most fertile soil for any political concept that can fill them. Therefore, under the pressure of the promise of quick solutions, the danger of adopting some formulas that deeply endanger the ideological identity of this country is all the greater. Because what is involved is not only the economic sphere. After all, you know the story about the dialectical relations between the material basis and ideological superstructure. Some apparently naive daily moves may result in major conceptual consequences.

This will certainly happen with the moves being made at the moment. This thing about Markovic's liberalism will certainly produce deep furrows. However, have we not agreed to that? The ideological concept of Markovic's policy went through a painful process of adoption and has finally been adopted. The government has received full political authorization, above all from the League of Communists, that is, from an authority which is the most competent to check socialist "orthodoxy." One cannot say that this support was forced. What is involved here is—or at least should be—a new socialist strategy, free from the dogmas established by what were, until recently, holy books and the decades-long practice based upon them.

Socialism with a human face and socialism to suit man are two of the pretty names we call the kind of socialism that should soon start filling stomachs, and not only heads and eyes, and which obviously necessitates some profound changes, both in reality and in the people's conscience. This mechanism simply cannot continue to function without some imported elements, although some people think they smell bad, simply because they have been affirmed in the capitalist countries. This has to be understood now or never. Because everything that is not originally socialist does not necessarily have to be

antisocialist, and definitely not prominently capitalist. The times of crystal-clear concepts have gone. In fact, did we not get this headache from one such concept, whose gloss seemed to be the most important thing about it?

This country's ideological identity is genuinely threatened. In fact, what is threatened is a doctrine which obviously needs to be considerably corrected. Resistance, embellished with accusations of high treason against socialism, is part of this outdated doctrine, and coming to grips with it will be neither easy nor pleasant.

Commentary Views 'Dispassionate' Markovic

AU3108134489 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 29 Aug 89 p 2

[Dusan Sekulic commentary: "Why Is Markovic Keeping Quiet?"]

[Text] What can be concluded from the fact that the Federal Executive Council is not reacting to the increasingly frequent and vehement name-calling and demands to quickly swap its plan for stopping inflation to an anti-inflation program?

For example, if one listens dispassionately to the demand of the director of a trout farm calling on all work organizations not to pay their taxes and contributions until the government halts inflation and relaxes the burden on the economy, and if it does not occur to the government to quickly hold a meeting because of the partially-supported peasants rally, then how can one interpret the absence of reaction to the demand of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia that an anti-inflation program and welfare protection program be adopted immediately?

Both possible conclusions—that the Federal Executive Council is still quite sure of itself and its policy or that the influence of the highest party organ is no longer even close to what it once was—would be only partly correct.

Maybe a swift reaction by the Federal Executive Council to the demand of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia—whose word has been obediently listened to for decades—is lacking because of the simple reason that the federal government leadership was until yesterday making use of the short 10-day and interrupted holiday between the hot summer and the hot fall. However, what other Yugoslav premier has remained dispassionately at the coast, although in his own boat, while he was being called to account by the party? Which premier would remain dispassionate even after returning to his work place, like Ante Markovic who, instead of arriving at the Federal Executive Council and swiftly acting according to party orders, devoted virtually the whole of the first day to other matters not directly connected to the demand of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia? All was quiet on the premises of the federal government yesterday. It

had not occurred to anyone that the government should gather to discuss the ultimatums of the peasants outside the Federal Assembly building. It would be very nice if this were a sign that we have a government and situation normal for a civilized and democratic state. So what if the party leadership has its demands, just like the demonstrators? The government continues to do its own thing while it has the authorization and confidence of parliament.... Unfortunately we can still only see such a thing at the movies.

The ever increasing agitation resulting from the catastrophic economic situation and inflation, which will not stop despite the promises made by the Federal Executive Council at the beginning of fall, but which will, on the contrary, reach 1,300 and perhaps 1,500 percent by the end of the year on the wave of the present rate of 30 percent a month, cannot remain without consequences. Despite the already noticeable disappointment and defeatism in the ranks of his government, President Markovic is still firmly convinced that his defeat will not be one of the consequences. According to statements by people close to him, he continues to be a confirmed optimist and he will supposedly not reply to any demands informally, but will appear on television around 10 September and in the Assembly at the end of the month. What could he say—it is not difficult to guess. Ante Markovic is living proof that the environment makes the man regardless of how experienced and mature he was before. While he steered the ship of his republic, Croatia, he was known as a "republican." As the leader of one of the groups for changing the SFRY Constitution, he supported the view that the existing framework of this already very contentious document nevertheless gave enough room to the federal government to efficiently manage the economy of the country. You can bet that Markovic would now in all confidence admit that he no longer thinks that. The only answer that he can offer to the alarmed or confused people, Assembly, and party at this moment is: The government does not have enough room to govern.

The fact that Markovic would probably not admit this publicly since the question of measures for the federation has become a supremely political question, is another matter. However, no objective person would dispute that he would be right if he were to say that the government has had no success in the struggle against inflation, not only because the expectation that the evil nourished for decades can be conquered in a few months is at the level of science fiction for pre-school age children, but also because the republics and provinces through their delegates in the Assembly, their parties, and information media, zealously hinder the government in this struggle. No one has yet disputed the statement that 70 percent of monetary flows are outside the domain of the government and that the republics print money through their national banks and enterprises by issuing as many Yugoslav bills of exchange [Jugo-menica] as they want. We are still a long way from agreement on this issue because no one wants to be deprived of the possibility of paying for

wage increases for the enraged workers with the help of an order to the printing press at Topcider.

The government's attempt to immediately put an end to the infamous Yugoslav bills of exchange, the main source of artificial money, was also disabled in June. Even smaller casualties like the scrapping of post-dated checks and the payment of incomes in several installments, were rejected with vehement resistance at the republican level. In his nomination speech, Markovic stressed that his anti-inflation policy is in a new consistent system, as it is now called. However, systemic laws tortuously pass through the Assembly, suffering various dilutions on the way. Instead of being adopted at the beginning of July, very important laws on foreign trade—which contain the basic lever for breaking up domestic monopolies by liberating imports for citizens—on foreign currency dealings, labor relations, and the taxation system, rot in drawers. Now when the delegates gather after the summer break with fresh instructions from their increasingly agitated "grass roots," aware that their term of office is expiring and with the quite natural need to "find a place for their souls" in the only existing heaven represented by their republics, the big question is: What will Markovic's planned legal framework for "new socialism" look like?

However, Yugoslavia has nevertheless adopted a habit of the classic democratic environment of Europe: The people primarily blame all their misfortunes on the government. The awareness is beginning, nevertheless, to increasingly spread that power is really with local party chiefs, however it is still much easier to throw stones at the Palace of the Federation than at one's own republican messiah. Ante Markovic is also quite aware of this, but as far as the people are concerned, their quite natural reaction to heap all the blame for the prolonged agony and failure onto the Federal Executive Council president, would not be exaggerated. They would reason: If he has not managed to save us, then his departure will not make our ruin any greater. This is still more proof that the people do not always have to be right, for the simple reason that their circumstances do not always allow them to see everything. Just as it became clear after the inglorious departure of Branko Mikulic that in the last year of his "rule" an exceptional amount had been done to awaken the spirit of reform, it is also clear that this Federal Executive Council also supports reform, while keeping to its course of liberalization, the market, and separating the economy from politics, of course. A market orientation and a breaking of the lethal misconceptions of the previous version of socialism, is the only way of finding a way out of the tunnel and any attempt to patch up the old, either "bit by bit" or with vociferous slogans, only leads to even denser darkness. The problem is that many people among us do not want to pay the price for the way out of the tunnel.

Uzelac Speaks on Inflation, Reform, Nationalism

AU3108161289 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 89 p 3

[Unattributed report on highlights of the speech made by Ugljesa Uzelac, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, on Preslica mountain to mark the 48th anniversary of the Uprising Day of the peoples and nationalities of the Doboj, Gracanica, and Maglaj communes: "Changes With a Moral and Political Guarantee"]

[Text] On inflation: No one has ever defeated inflation without self-sacrifice. We cannot do this either, particularly in conditions where everyone is attempting to retain what has been achieved in the many years of a consensus and administrative system of rights and privileges and through the practice of living at the expense of other people or the "wider community" instead of from the results of one's own work. Nowadays it seems that many people in our country are trying to avoid paying this price and "get by" without suffering the consequences. Therefore we should no longer hesitate to take additional economic measures and actions in order to halt a further escalation of inflation and create conditions to reduce it, because previous moves in this respect obviously have not produced results.

All of us, literally all of us, must be aware of the social dimensions of the reforms, and realistic solutions must be found for all the working people who will be temporarily effected. People's support cannot be acquired by instilling in them a fear of reforms, by threatening them with losing their jobs, and by promising them omnipotent managers....

On the transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia: The transformation of the League of Communists should mean its final separation from the state, its de-bureaucratization, sharpened responsibility for the democratic adoption of decisions and their united implementation, and an elimination of the monopolies of narrow groups and bureaucratic cliques, inertia, opportunism, and dogmatism. The membership's clear demand for the leaderships to take more responsibility also contains the inherent need for the leaderships to work differently. This requires a cadre policy based on proven abilities and knowledge, as well as the real influence of the membership on the election of these cadres, openness of work, a general strengthening of the membership's role in constructing the policy of the League of Communists, and increasing responsibility at all levels of its organization for implementing this policy.

I think that the League of Communists must this time resist the temptation to approach new problems in the old way, and in the spirit of the orientation to social reforms, it must adhere to the belief that each institution of the system should undertake its role and carry it through in an autonomous and responsible way. There is

no real democracy if people wait for ready-made solutions from the League of Communists. This would only mean that we stood still in implementing the reforms.

On nationalism: As a result of nationalist activity, tendencies are increasingly emerging toward economic and political disintegration and cultural, scientific, educational, linguistic, and other divisions. This, if it continues at the present rate, threatens to put at risk the many key achievements of the existence and development of the Yugoslav federation as a community of equal peoples and nationalities.

We are forgetting our basic historical experience that every nationalism in our country appears as an expression of counterrevolution and that any attempt to de-emphasize and tune down these phenomena or keep silent about them for the sake of momentary aims and interests, or, even, some sort of "national peace," pushes us all into a quick of nationalism. It has been confirmed numerous times in our region, and is being confirmed even today, that "nationalism is a whirlpool in which every other thought disappears."

Our peoples and nationalities are very familiar with the truth that all manifestations of nationalism are dangerous and reactionary, that they all plan to do away with us, and they all threaten us. Therefore, one of the basic conditions for a successful struggle against nationalism is for us to be just as merciless against the nationalism which appears among the people to which we belong as to the nationalism that appears among another people, and for us to face it with just as much alertness and fight against it. Without this moral condition there is no real political guarantee for the struggle against other nationalisms.

On the 14th Congress: The Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the real, and perhaps last, chance for a turn-around to be achieved, for a united platform to be offered for the further development of our society, for us to finally rid ourselves of some inherited ideological burdens and dogmas, for us to reaffirm some of our programmatic orientations, and for us to formulate new visions of a more humane, richer, and democratic socialism in our country.

'Green Package' Measures To Change Agriculture

LD3108090289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0100 GMT 31 Aug 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, August 31 (TANJUG)—These days, Yugoslavia has heralded a sweeping turn in agriculture which should, for the first time in the four-and-a-half-decade-long socialist development of the country, put farmers at the same level with the so-far privileged agricultural complexes and peasants' cooperatives.

The government's "green package" of measures, summarily forwarded to the Federal Assembly, contains as well some proposals until yesterday viewed as unimaginable. So, just as the social sector is, the (?farmers) are to be exempted from paying sales tax when purchasing equipment, raw materials and semifinished goods needed for their production and building economic facilities on their farms.

Further, they will be in a position for the first time to borrow mortgage loans guaranteeing them by their own property, to hire workforce, to register their individual farms as firms for the production of various goods and services, including handicrafts and tourist trade. Yugoslavia's privately-owned farms will become open to foreign investments and its agriculture, having been apportioned about a billion dollars from the state budget this year, will remain the only one state-subsidised branch of economy.

To do away with differences between the privately- and socially-owned sectors in the national agriculture is a measure long sought after among Yugoslavia's peasants who account for one-fourth of Yugoslavia's 23 million people. Out of some ten million hectares of cultivable lands, they own over 80 percent. In the production of meat, vegetables and fruits, the peasants take a share of more than 90 percent. It is thanks above all to them that Yugoslavia annually produces six million tonnes of wheat, eleven million tonnes of maize, produces food enough to meet all its needs with a part of it set aside for exports.

Well-aware of their own importance for the production of food and agriculture's role in stabilising the Yugoslav national economy as well as faced with a hyperinflation of nearly 1000 percent, the farmers are no longer reconciled to their status at present. Their political awakening started less than a year's time ago in the northwestern Republic of Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most developed part, when a first association of peasants was founded and spread the other day over and into the province of Vojvodina, Yugoslavia's granary in the northeast and a constituent part of the Republic of Serbia, eastern Yugoslavia, with prospects for spreading all over Yugoslavia.

Vojvodina's farmers drew the public attention in Novi Sad, chief city of their province, towards the end of last June when 20,000 of them rallied to protest at and voiced their dissatisfaction with the Yugoslav Government's decision on a guaranteed wheat price of 3,000 dinars a kilogram (something like 18 cents at the time) and with putting on sale cheap flour, sugar and edible oil from the state reserves. Their rally ended in their insisting on improvements in the status of the countryside and agriculture as well as in their cautioning the government that, unless this is not met, they are going to organise a rally of peasants from all over Yugoslavia in Belgrade at the end of this month.

Their threat coincided with fierce criticisms insuing from Yugoslavia's largest Republic of Serbia and

addressed to Federal Premier Ante Markovic and his government for their allegedly tolerating hyperinflation, for their agrarian policy and their many other moves.

Misgivings about seeing as many as a million peasants rally in Belgrade prior to a 9th non-aligned summit in order to topple the premier in power and his government came almost to nothing. Last Monday, only some 5,000 farmers found themselves in front of the Federal Assembly Building, in an overwhelming majority from Vojvodina and Serbia proper, who, even after the government's "green package" had been made known ten days earlier, did not give up protesting.

Farmers from the northwestern republics of Slovenia and Croatia refused to join them, claiming that to be found behind is an attempt at toppling the government, and this at the very moment when it brought forward measures "long awaited in agriculture." Some local associations of peasants in Vojvodina, too, came out against a protest like that.

Observers' attention was particularly attracted by farmers' trying to enter Yugoslavia's political life through the main door. Farmers have no organization of their own, nor their own trade union and are represented only in token numbers on other bodies of power. Yugoslavia's rural economy is getting along in years now and more and more of lands remain uncultivated.

It is a matter of days now when a peasants' association of Yugoslavia is going to take over the voicing of economic and political demands of the peasantry, the authorities being no longer against founding it.

Racan Receives Soviet Charge d'Affaires

LD2908163989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received I. Koldoskiy, charge d'affaires of the USSR Embassy in the SFRY.

Diplomatic Ties Established With Bahrain

LD3108155389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—The SFRY and the State of Bahrain today established full diplomatic relations.

In the atmosphere of a preparatory meeting at the level of experts for the forthcoming ninth nonaligned countries summit, held in the Belgrade Sava Center, documents on establishing diplomatic relations were signed at a formal ceremony by Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, and Bahrain Minister of Foreign Affairs Muhammad ibn Mubarak al Khalifah.

Following the formal ceremony of signing the documents the two foreign ministers held short cordial talks.

Drnovsek Meets With New Envoy to Mexico

LD0109020989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Ignjac Golob, newly appointed Yugoslav ambassador to Mexico, prior to his taking up office.